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the Church of Scotland

LECTURES

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

BY THE LATE

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WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES FROM THE AUTHOR'S PAPERS

EDITED BY HIS SON

THE REV. WILLIAM LEE

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE period embraced in the following Course of Lectures is not only the most interesting, and, on constitutional grounds, the most important, in the annals of the Church of Scotland, but it is also that to which the Author chiefly devoted his attention in all his researches into Scottish ecclesiastical history, and on which his voluminous collection of manuscripts, contemporaneous literature, and extracts from public registers was more especially complete.

He had long contemplated, and continued long to hope for leisure to undertake, a History of the Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to be derived, for the most part, from original sources, and which, besides an account of "its learning, its theological doctrines, its modes of worship, its government and discipline," should also include a number of kindred topics possessing hardly inferior interest. One of these—namely, the history of Academical Institutions in Scotland—was referred to by the Author in the last of his inaugural addresses in the University of Edinburgh (in 1858), as a matter on which it was then "more than forty-five years since he had begun to engage in very elaborate in-

quiries," and made "many thousands of pages of transcripts from the registers of Rectors and Deans of Faculty, and other documents." In connection with this point, he had also (he said on the same occasion) attended particularly to "the influence of many of our lettered countrymen on the schools and universities of foreign countries." Above all, as is evident from the nature of the collections already mentioned, a view of the character and condition of the people during the period in question, and likewise notices of the personal history of its leading men, occupied a prominent place in his general scheme.

It has often been the subject of regret to others, as it was to himself, that the pressure of engrossing public duties prevented the Author from accomplishing a purpose for which, by the concurrent testimony of those of his contemporaries who were best entitled to give an opinion, he was so eminently qualified ; and it is due to his memory to say, that the present work, however valuable, and although presented in a form perhaps more adapted for the general reader, in many respects differs in its character from such a contribution to the history of ecclesiastical affairs in this country as he himself desired to give to the world.

Dr Lee was appointed Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in St Mary's College, St Andrews, in the year 1812 ; and it was while he held this office that, in the Session 1816-17, he wrote and read to his students the Lectures which are now published, and which formed part of a more comprehensive course, extending over five Sessions, and including "illustrations of the History and the Pro-

phacies of the Old Testament ; the state of learning and of religious opinions at the period of the advent of our Saviour, and of the most material facts which occurred during the lives of the Apostles and their immediate successors ; with the subsequent history of the Church down to the Reformation." While thus written at a comparatively early period of his life, and without any view to publication, these Lectures on the Scottish Church appear, with very few exceptions, to have been prepared with great care, and were so prepared at a time when his mind was already full of the subject, and stored with information on all the topics which he had occasion to introduce. They had also the benefit of some revision so late as the year 1843. In that year a portion of them was re-delivered from the Church History Chair of the University of Edinburgh, then temporarily supplied by the Author, for his friend and colleague Professor Robertson.^a

A few words must be added with reference to the Notes and Appendices to the present volumes. It appeared to the Editor that by means of extracts from the Author's separate papers, and chiefly those of a more recent date, much might be done to supplement the Lectures themselves where they failed adequately to represent the views of the Author on questions of importance. If it has not been

^a In the preliminary remarks with which he introduced the course on the occasion now referred to, the author said : " Many of my materials were never incorporated in the general narrative, but were preserved in separate notebooks and detached *fasciculi* ; and many of them are at present beyond my reach

so completely that I do not even know how to trace them." Several of these detached notes, however, have now been traced, and incorporated in the text, being included within brackets—a distinction which has been observed also in the case of all similar insertions.

practicable to accomplish this object to the full extent which was desired, it is hoped, at least, that such appendices and notes as have been given will be found in a considerable degree to add to the value of the work. They are invariably taken from the Author's own papers, and, except in one or two instances which are distinguished by the Editor's signature, are also given in the Author's own words. Most of them are from papers of various kinds, which have not been before printed ; but the Editor has not hesitated likewise to avail himself, when he thought it necessary, of some materials for annotation which had already appeared in print, especially in the case of the Author's evidence before different Parliamentary Committees, to be found only in the Blue Books, a few contributions to the publications of the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, and his privately printed *Memorial for the Bible Societies*.

W. L.

ROXBURGH, *May* 21, 1860.

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LECTURES

ON THE

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTION—RELIGION AND LEARNING IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE
REFORMATION—CONDEMNATION OF JAMES RESBY AND PAUL
CRAWAR—FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS—
PRIVILEGES AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH—
ENCROACHMENTS OF JAMES III., AND OF THE ROMAN SEE.

THE Reformation of religion in Scotland was so closely interwoven with political events, that we cannot trace the progress of the one without entering deeply into the other ; and hence, all our civil historians have thought it necessary to give a detail of the ecclesiastical proceedings, and all our writers on the affairs of the Church have taken an extensive survey of the state of public parties, and of a vast number of particulars relating rather to the secular interests of the kingdom than to its spiritual concerns. Almost all the works on this subject, whatever titles they may assume, are of a political complexion. The views presented by some of them are highly important, and I shall have much satisfaction in referring you to them occasionally for discussions which do not come within my

LECT.
I.
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Introduction.

LECT.
I.

plan. The purpose which I have formed is to confine myself almost entirely to the internal history of the Church, under which head may be comprehended its learning, its theological doctrines, its modes of worship, its government and discipline, or what has been called its ecclesiastical polity. It will not always, certainly, be possible to detach the affairs of the Church from those of the civil government; and, indeed, it will be absolutely necessary for us sometimes to take notice of the influence which the one had on the other.

Not only, however, are the external events which are connected with the establishment of the Reformation sufficiently well described by various authors, but almost all the writers with whom I am acquainted dwell chiefly on this part of the subject, without taking much notice of the doctrines, constitution, laws, and discipline of the Church. Calderwood and Petrie are, in my opinion, the only Church historians who, in regard to these points, are worth consulting. Their information, however, is extremely confused, and in many articles incomplete. Keith and Spotswood are notoriously incorrect and full of prejudices; and more modern writers have adopted their statements with too little reserve.

It appears, therefore, to me to be of no small importance to give a circumstantial exposition of all the essential principles by which the Reformers were distinguished from their corrupt predecessors. Many mistakes prevail on this subject. It is very commonly represented that, in their zeal for overthrowing abuses and rooting out errors, the first separatists in this country from the communion of Rome made a point of departing, reasonably or unreasonably, from all the opinions and usages of the Catholics. Thus Dr Beattie

(who very rarely presents other than the most commonplace views of every subject) has thought proper to remark that, "if any practice was in use among the Papists, this was enough to make the Reformers reject it, and it was almost enough to recommend any practice to them that it was contrary to the usages of their adversaries." The remark, often as it has been repeated, indicates the greatest ignorance of history. It may be true that the Reformers were more than sufficiently earnest in effecting alterations in matters of minor importance ; although they never attempted to new model any practice which did not appear to them to be unfounded in the Word of God, or directly in opposition to that only sure standard of divine truth. And it is undeniable that, by their fastidious and disproportionate scrupulosity with respect to some things which appear to us almost indifferent, but which they considered of primary moment, they weakened their own cause, and not only detached some of their adherents, but intercepted much of the attention which might have been bestowed to greater advantage on more weighty and important considerations. The fact, however, is, that with all their zeal, the Reformers retained rather too much than too little of the spirit of Popery, and that, instead of being too violent in clamouring for change, they were a great deal too moderate in the views with which they set out ; and from this cause they continued for a long period to give indulgence to many abuses of no slight enormity, of which they could not afterwards get rid so easily.^a They were

LECT.
I.

Beattie's
Life by
Forbes, vol.
i. p. 142.

^a [In addition to the illustrations of this statement to be found in subsequent lectures, the following extract may be given from the Author's evidence before the House of Commons' Committee on Sabbath Observance, in 1832 :—" During the earliest times of the Church of Scotland after the Reformation, the Sabbath was not observed with the same strictness as

LECT.
I.

thus led into several unfortunate measures, which had a fatal influence in disconcerting their counsels, and impeding their future operations.

I shall have occasion to point out many of these circumstances, and to exhibit an enlarged view of the

at a period somewhat later. It is very commonly believed that at the Reformation in Scotland, the leading individuals proceeded in general to an extreme as opposite as possible to the practices of the Church which had previously existed, and became righteous over much. I find this was by no means the case. In reality, the change was so gradual, and in some respects so imperfect, that at so late a period as the year 1574, about three years after the death of Knox, the practice of performing comedies on the Sabbath had not been altogether discontinued, and that it was occasionally allowed to proceed under the countenance and approbation of some of those church-courts that might have been expected to be the most rigid in refusing to allow any encroachment on the sanctity of the Lord's day. I shall, with the leave of the Committee, state one instance. On the 21st of July 1574, this minute is inserted in the record of the kirk-session of St Andrews: 'The said day, anent the supplication given by Mr Patrick Auchinlek for procuring licence to play the comedy mentioned in St Luke's Evangel of the Forlorn Son (the Prodigal Son), upon Sunday the 1st day of August next to come, the seat (that is the session) has desired, first, the play to be revised by my Lord Rector Minister (the minister of the parish), Mr John Rutherford, provost of St Salvator's College, and Mr James Wilkie, principal of St Leonard's College, and if they find no fault therewith, the same to be played upon the said Sunday the 1st of

August, so that playing thereof be no occasion to withdraw the people from hearing of the preaching at the hour appointed, as well afternoon as before noon.' Soon afterwards, such amusements as dramatic performances were not only discountenanced but altogether prohibited on that day. I may here mention a specimen of the manner in which these profane amusements were denounced. On the 21 of March following, this minute is inserted: 'The minister is ordained on Sunday next to charge all persons, specialie young men, not to presume to violate the Sabbath day by using of plays and games publiclie, as they were wont to do, contrefating the plays of Robin Huid, expresslie forbidden by Act of Parliament.' I find, in the same record, in the year 1595, 'John Ross, master of the song school, on his knees asked God mercy for using and playing a part of a comedy and play in St Leonard's College, at the time of the last Batchelor Act. Mr John Echlin, regent to the batchelors, and Mr John Douglas, pedagogue to my Lord Buchan, confessed, in presence of the session, that it was against their wills that the said play was played, and promised hereafter to stay and withstand all such things at their power, and never to do the like in time coming.' October 1, 1598: 'An Englishman having desired libertie of the session to make ane public play in this city, it was voted and concluded that he sal not be permitted to do the same.'"—See also Appendix No. 1.]

most material heads of doctrine, discipline, worship, and observances which marked the distinction between the Catholics and the Protestants in this country. I shall then go on to discuss the modifications which the polity of the Church progressively underwent; the controversies which took place between the Presbyterians and the Prelatical party, not merely with regard to the forms of worship and the regulations of church government, but particularly with regard to many essential articles of belief. In accomplishing this task, I shall endeavour to bring into view, and explain, a number of statutes, both of the Church and State, affecting religion, which have been frequently overlooked or misunderstood; and I shall find it necessary occasionally to relate incidents which are not very generally attended to; but I shall never enter into any lengthened detail on subjects which appear to be sufficiently examined in the printed histories, to which every person may have easy access. Many of my materials have been extracted from the records of church courts, and other manuscripts and tracts, which I have carefully consulted, and which are the only sources from which we can derive authentic information on the internal history of our Church.

Before entering upon the consideration of our subject I shall, in one or two preliminary lectures, lay before you a sketch of the state of Scotland, in respect of religion and learning, during the five centuries preceding the Reformation, that is, from the accession of Malcolm Canmore to the reign of Mary Queen of Scots—a period which, though much involved in obscurity, is better known to us than the earlier ages of our national history.

In the course of what I have to rehearse, it may

LECT.
I.

Plan of the
work.

Religion
and learning
in Scotland
before the
Reforma-
tion.

LECT. I. appear, perhaps, that the Church of Scotland was not altogether so debased by superstition and sunk in utter profligacy as some of the Continental churches; but in proportion as the communication with France and other foreign nations became more frequent, it advanced towards the same degradation of infamy which, in other parts of Europe, had long been a subject of grief and indignation among all who had any regard for truth or virtue.

1050.
Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, from Malcolm III. to Robert I. (ed. 1776); and a second vol. to the accession of the House of Stewart (ed. 1779).

[Vol. i. p. 3.]

Among the earliest events related in the authentic history of Scotland is the murder of Duncan by Macbeth. The story of this usurper, as told by the fabulous Hector Boethius, and adorned by the fancy of Shakespeare, has but a slight foundation in reality. There is one circumstance, however, resting on the authority of Florence of Worcester, which strongly marks the corrupt character of the age: "Anno Millesimo quinquagesimo, Rex Scotorum M'Bethad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit." The fact is not improbable that the usurper bribed the Roman Court; but, as Lord Hailes notices, the chronicler Fordun, and his ignorant editor, corrupted the passage, so as to make it represent Macbeth as having taken a pilgrimage to Rome and there distributed money among the poor. Almsgiving has often been resorted to by successful villains as an atonement for crimes; but the simpler policy of the Scottish despot was to gain the alliance of the head of the Church.

1057. The spirited and prudent Malcolm III., who held the Scottish sceptre twenty-seven years, was not exempt from the superstition of the age; but he does not appear to have lavished much of his wealth on the Church. The Culdees in Fife were in some degree indebted to his bounty, and the Benedictine Abbey of

Dunfermline is said to have received from him its original endowment. His queen, Margaret, is described by her confessor Turgot as having devoted much of her time to the study of the Scriptures (at least of the Vulgate version). Her devout exercises were long and fervent, and her alms were as regularly performed as her prayers. Her death is said to have been occasioned by her extreme mortifications and her lengthened fasts. Her views of religion, though gloomy and superstitious, were not uniformly unenlightened. She enforced the long-neglected duty of observing the Christian Sabbath, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Few instances of more fervent piety have been known among persons of her exalted rank,—and it was more honourable to her memory to be sainted in the estimation of an affectionate nation, than to have her name inserted in the Calendar of the Romish Church, as it was towards the conclusion of the seventeenth century, at the request of James II. of England.

The confessor and biographer of Margaret made a conspicuous figure in the reign of Alexander I. (about the year 1110). He was elected Bishop of St Andrews by the united suffrages of the king, the clergy, and the people, and was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, who in those times conceived it to be his right to perform this ceremony to the Bishops of St Andrews;—but on this occasion it was stipulated that the rights of the Scottish Church should not be affected in time coming by what was then considered merely as a matter of expediency. Turgot had formerly been a monk of Durham, and after struggling several years with the difficulties of his new situation, he returned in a fit of dejection to his cell, where he closed his days in the year 1115. Alexander I. expected to set

1110.
Independ-
ence of the
Scottish
Church.
[Hailes, i.
49-63.]

LECT.
I.

aside the arrogant pretensions of the Archbishop of York by applying to the Archbishop of Canterbury for Eadmer, one of his monks, who, with the royal consent, was chosen by the clergy and people to the bishopric of St Andrews. After the election, Eadmer insisted on receiving consecration at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the king determined that none of the bishops of Scotland should acknowledge any subjection to a foreign see. The contest lasted long; and, as the king was inflexible, Eadmer was obliged to return to England. The next Bishop of St Andrews was also an English monk, who might have readily submitted to receive consecration from the Archbishop of York, if the Scots had not refused to recognise the claim either of right or of ancient usage,—and it was by a succession of such obstinate struggles, insignificant as they may seem, that the independence of the Scottish Church was finally established. Alexander was partial to the Church, and enriched it by many valuable donations, which, however, served less to advance the interests of religion, the object which he had at heart, than to swell the pride and enlarge the political influence of ambitious priests.

1122-1153.
David I.
[Hailes, i.
93, Spots-
wood, Hist.
(1666), 34.
Buchanan,
Hist.
(1697) 208.]

His brother, David I., who succeeded him on the throne, was, in the estimation of Buchanan, the most excellent prince that ever swayed a sceptre. I say nothing of the glory of his warlike achievements. The English felt and feared his prowess, and could not deny him the praise of moderation in victory. That he improved the laws of his country, and actively promoted commercial enterprise, as well as the important arts of husbandry and architecture, is still more to his honour. He was accessible to all his sub-

jects without distinction, observing the ancient custom of sitting at the gate to hear the causes which were brought before him. He never suffered his personal comfort or amusement to interfere with the discharge of his public functions. At the close of every evening he shut himself up in secret to review his actions and to meditate on his duty to God and the people. His liberality to the sacerdotal order was probably carried to an extreme ; but the failing arose from a conscientious principle, and not from ostentation. He founded several bishoprics, and built a great number of monasteries, providing amply for their support, and, at the same time, augmenting the resources of those which had been previously established. The finest remains of Gothic architecture in this country bear witness to his taste and munificence. The cathedrals of Aberdeen and Dunkeld (not to mention several others), and the abbeys of Holyrood, of Kelso, of Melrose, of Dryburgh, of Jedburgh, of Cambuskenneth, and of Dunfermline, could not be reared without an immense expenditure. His descendants, in general, showed little disposition to rival his splendid works, and some of them have been known to murmur at his prodigality of treasure. James I. of Scotland said of him, that "St David was a sore saint to the crown." It has been affirmed that his profusion rendered it necessary for succeeding kings to impoverish the nobles and levy heavy contributions from the people for the supply of the royal coffers. But, however useless, or rather pernicious, the wealth of the Church became in the progress of ages, it cannot be said that at first it was altogether misapplied. The monasteries and schools attached to cathedrals were long the only places in which learning could be acquired. Statesmen as well

LECT. I. as ecclesiastics here received their education. Many of these buildings, which appear to vulgar eyes to have been erected on the most fertile spots, were, in fact, built in deserts ; but the skill and diligence of the inhabitants converted the deserts into fruitful fields, and planted orchards and gardens on the wastes, which were overgrown with thorns and briars. In the time of David I. the dissolute morals and gross ignorance of the future monks were not foreseen to be the almost unavoidable result of a state of life in which the necessity of activity was superseded, and the exercise of devotion was reduced to mechanical rules. "It was primitive sanctity," says the historian, John Major, "that brought forth wealth ; but the mother has been strangled by her wanton daughter."

Papal authority in Scotland in thirteenth century. Hailes, i. 121-184.

Malcolm IV. and his brother William, who succeeded him, were also founders of monasteries. William (surnamed the Lion), in consequence of his refusal to permit John Scot to be consecrated Bishop of St Andrews, was excommunicated by Pope Alexander III., and his whole kingdom was laid under an interdict. These engines of papal vengeance he laughed to scorn, and the sentence was annulled by the next Pope, Lucius III. His son, Alexander II., was also excommunicated with his whole kingdom, but the sentence was again treated with small respect, and revoked on very easy terms. In no country of Europe was the authority of the Pope so little regarded either by the king or the people. Alexander founded eight monasteries for the order of St Dominic, or the Blackfriars, which, being mendicants, were not supposed to be so expensive as the Cisterrians and Canons Regular. Both in his reign, and in that of his son Alexander III., the independence of the Scottish Church was maintained.

For a long series of years the history of the Scottish Church is obscure and uninteresting. During the dependency of the claims of Edward I. for the disposal of the Crown of Scotland, Boniface VIII. interfered, and demanded Scotland as a fief of the Holy See. But finding that Edward was determined to resist his pretensions, he immediately changed his tone, and left to their fate the people of Scotland, whom he had affected to take under his special protection. The alternative was dismal, when either the tyranny of England or the tyranny of Rome appeared to be the inevitable portion of this devoted nation.

In the time of Robert Bruce (about 1306), it has been commemorated, to the honour of the Scottish ecclesiastical establishment, that some of the leading dignitaries of the Church acted a principal part in aiding that patriotic chief to restore the violated rights and liberties of his country. William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, and Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, themselves took up arms in his support ; and David Moray, Bishop of Moray (the founder of the Scots College of Paris) preached to the people that the cause of Bruce was as meritorious as a crusade against the Infidels. They have received the greater applause for their manliness, as their conduct was not very acceptable to the Court of Rome. Bruce and all his adherents were indeed excommunicated by the Cardinal Legate about the beginning of the year 1307. The Bishop of St Andrews is also highly applauded by Spotswood, not merely for finishing the cathedral, and building palaces and country houses for his successors, but for his wisdom and beneficence. Yet it is certain that his duplicity and versatility entitled him to little respect ; and it is only doubtful whether he was more

LECT.
I.

Ecclesiastics
in the time
of Robert
Bruce.
Hailes, ii.
2, &c.

[Spotswood,
54.]

LECT.
I.

a coward or a traitor. It must be confessed, however, that little reliance could then be placed on the stability of any class of men, however high in rank or venerable in official character. The same Bishop of Dunkeld who, by signalising his valour on the shores of the Forth, had been honoured by Bruce with the title of the King's Bishop, was not ashamed fifteen years afterwards, on the banks of the Tay, to officiate at the coronation of Edward Baliol (in 1332). Among ecclesiastics, good faith could scarcely have been supposed to be a rarer virtue than military courage. Whether from ignorance or intention I pretend not to say, Spotswood is apt to magnify the good qualities of Bishops, and to suppress what is dishonourable to their memories ; but probably the great cause of his numerous errors has been, not so much his want of candour, as the undiscerning credulity with which he copies such contemptible fabulists as Hector Boethius.

Even in the weak reign of the degenerate son of Robert Bruce, the inconstant and pusillanimous David II., who proved regardless of the honour and independence of his kingdom, it does not appear that the privileges of the Scottish Church were ever surrendered or sensibly impaired ; but it can scarcely be doubted that the emissaries and agents of the Pope secretly availed themselves of the opportunity afforded in those disturbed and factious times to prepare the way for subjecting the country to the control of the Roman hierarchy.

Pinkerton's
Hist. (1796),
i. 26. Fordun,
ii. 389 and 400,
(edit. 1747).

Nothing particularly worth notice occurs in the reigns of Robert II. and Robert III., except that the papal influence in Scotland, recently increased by a bull of Pope Gregory XI. against intromissions with the effects of deceased bishops, received in 1384 a further

augmentation by the elevation of Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, to the rank of Cardinal, and his appointment as Legate *a latere* for Scotland and Ireland, with ample powers. LECT.
I.

In the regency of the Duke of Albany the annals of the year 1408 were disgraced by a scene, according to Pinkerton, before unknown in Scotland. James Resby, an English priest, of the school of Wickliffe, was condemned for heresy by a clerical council, presided over by Laurence de Lindoris, an inquisitor, and delivered to the secular arm, and to the flames, at Perth. The twentieth Chapter of the fifteenth Book of the *Scotichronicon* is entitled “De Combustione Jacobi Resby hæretici apud Perth.” Bower, or Bowermaker, the continuator of Fordun, there designs Lindoris, “inquisitore hæreticæ pravitatis, solidissimo clerico et famoso theologo vitæ sanctitate quam plurimum collandato.” He talks of James Resby as having been much admired by the common people for his preaching, in spite of the dangerous doctrines which were interspersed in his orations:—“quarum,” he says, “prima fuit, quod Papa de facto non est Christi vicarius; secunda, Nullus est Papa, nec Christi vicarius, nisi sit sanctus:” adding, “De consimilibus vel pejoribus, tenuit quadraginta conclusiones.” He informs us that the inquisitor confuted the writings as well as the author, and reduced both to ashes in the flames. He admits that errors of the same stamp, all originating from that condemned heresiarch, John Wickliffe, continued in his time to be fondly cherished, under the influence of the devil, by a number of Lollards in Scotland, to whom stolen waters were sweet, and bread eaten in secret was pleasant, and of whom it could seldom if ever be said that they came to the unity of

1408.
Condem-
nation of
James
Resby.
Pinkerton,
i. 88. For-
dun, ii. 441-
443.

LECT.
I.

the faith. He seems to doubt if he ever knew any one of them who fell asleep in the Lord, after the manner of Christians (*Christiano more*, that is to say, in conformity with the rites of the Catholic Church). The Abbot of St Columba proceeds to characterise these Lollards by the most opprobrious names and epithets, such as Gog and Magog, worshippers of Antichrist, serpents possessed by demons, anathematised apostates. After exhausting his vocabulary of hard words, enriched no doubt by the learning of Laurence de Lindoris, he professes to give a specimen of the ingenious syllogisms by which that celebrated inquisitor overturned the fabric of Wickliffe's errors; but were it not that, in this place,^a some tenderness might be expected to be shown to the memory of one of the founders and first lecturers on divinity in this University, we might be permitted to condole with the Bishop of Rome in having had so miserable an advocate to defend his cause, whose powers of conviction would have been feeble indeed if he had not been armed with fire and sword, and all the horrible artillery of pains and penalties.

Under the inauspicious star of this enemy of reason and perverter of revelation, the University of St Andrews dates its nativity.

1410. After the Feast of Pentecost 1410, in the time of Henry Wardlaw, bishop, and James Biset, prior of St Andrews, this city became a seat of general learning (or *studium generale*). The venerable theologian, Laurence or Lorenzo de Lindoris, Abbot of Scone, began to read lectures on the fourth book of Sentences; Dr Richard Corvel, Archdeacon of Lothian, taught the canon-law; Sir John Litstar, Licentiate of Decretals,

Foundation of the University of St Andrews. Fordun, lib. xv. c. 22, p. 445.

^a [St Mary's College, St Andrews.]

and Canon of St Andrews, lectured also on that subject ; John Scheves, official of St Andrews, and William Stephenson, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane, were masters in the same faculty. The lecturers on philosophy and logic were John Gyll, William Fowlis, and William Crosier, all of whom continued their instructions two and a half years before the confirmation of their privileges.^a At length, on Saturday the 3d of February 1413, Henry Ogilvy, master of arts, arrived in St Andrews with the bulls confirming the privileges of the University, which were next day presented to the Bishop, the Chancellor of the University, in the refectory of the monastery. The whole clergy and convent, in solemn procession, sang *Te Deum* at the great altar ; and the citizens gave themselves up to universal festivity and joy. Two days afterwards, in a great procession, besides a vast number of the inhabitants, four hundred clergy were numbered.^β

^a Spotswood, following H. Boethius, says that “ in 1412 Mr Jo. Sheves, official, Mr Wm. Stephen, and Sir John Lister, a canon of the abbey, were appointed to read divinity. Mr Laur. Lindoris was ordained to read the common law, and Mr Richard Cornwal the civil. Mr Jo. Gaw (Gyll), Mr Wm. Fowlis, and Mr Wm. Crosier, were chosen for philosophy men.” (Both accounts may be true to a certain extent. After the reception of the Pope’s bull, the arrangement of study described by Boethius and his copiers may have superseded the temporary order which had been adopted while the University was only a voluntary association ; but no reliance whatever is to be placed on the accounts of Boethius, except when supported by other evidence.)

^β [Hitherto the Scottish youth who had a taste for letters were educated

either in the monastic schools or foreign universities. . . . Being then the only academical establishment in Scotland, the University of St Andrews was, in its earlier years, much frequented ; but no provision was made for the teachers, except what they derived from their benefices in the Church. It could not be expected that great diligence would long be exerted by men whose chief avocations lay elsewhere, and who received no remuneration for the labour of teaching. The desire of being useful, the love of reputation, and the hope of preferment in the Church, might stimulate them for a while ; and by such motives as these many of them were roused to considerable effort. But it was perceived to be of importance to hold out the prospect of more steady rewards to those who should devote themselves exclusively to the

LECT.
I.

The Council of Constance having deposed Benedict XIII., and asserted the superiority of Councils over the papal authority, sent an envoy to Scotland to obtain the concurrence of that kingdom, in a measure which was already approved by all other Catholic powers. In a Council (or Parliament) assembled at

office of public instructors. In addition, therefore, to the school, which was called the university, a college dedicated to the honour of God our Saviour was founded by Bishop Kennedy about the middle of the century. The principal, and two other masters, were at first to be teachers of divinity, and to receive their provision from the parishes of which they held the rectory. Other four members were to be masters of arts in priests' orders, to read lectures in logic, physics, metaphysics, and other branches of philosophy. The constitution contained in the charter proves that the mode of prosecuting study had not been much improved during the forty years the university had been established; and the rules of discipline, in their original state of rudeness, were not more perfect than the regulations prescribing the method of instruction. Before St Salvator's College was founded, a similar institution had been established at Glasgow by Nicholas V. at the request of James II. The College of Glasgow is older than any other in Scotland, but the University is posterior in date to that of St Andrews by thirty-eight years.

Universities might be established (and some still exist on the Continent) without having even class-rooms for the students. The University of Paris subsisted in great efficiency from the age of Charlemagne to the middle of the thirteenth century (a period of nearly five hundred years), without having any schools or places of auditory, except such as were hired in the houses

of individuals. Crevier says, (t. i. 357): "Ce nombre immense d'écoliers et de Maîtres que les études attiroient à Paris, avoient besoin de logemens et d'écoles, et ils ne pouvoient se placer que chez les bourgeois. Delà il resuloit un grand inconvénient pour la discipline et pour les bonnes mœurs. Jaques de Vitri se plaint des desordres qu'opéroit ce melange d'une vive jeunesse avec toutes sortes de personnes. 'Dans une même maison, dit-il, au premier étage sont des écoles, et en bas des lieux de débauché.' C'est ce qui occasionna la foundation des Colleges," &c. The details furnished by Bukeus are most revolting.—*Hist. Univ. Par.* t. ii. p. 687. During the first twenty years after the foundation of the University of St Andrews, great inconvenience was suffered, not merely from the want of such rooms, but from the multiplying of schools in the different religious houses, all of them claiming to be considered as constituent parts of the University; and even after a pædagogium was founded in 1430, for the schools and halls of the Faculty of Arts, and for chambers to be used by the students in that faculty, the studies of the Faculties of Theology and Law were conducted in other buildings, and the congregations of the University continued for at least seven hundred and thirty years to be held in the Agustinian Priory.—(*Draft Report, Univ. Glasgow. University Commission of 1826; and separate MSS.*)

Perth, Robert Harding, an English friar of the Order of St Francis, undertook to support the claims of Benedict, who was favoured by the Regent. In the course of his disputation, however, he was convicted of ten dangerous errors, by John Elwold, rector of the University of St Andrews, John Fogo, monk of Melrose, afterwards abbot of that monastery, and the other eminent divines. The university had in fact withdrawn their allegiance from Benedict; and at their suggestion the nation, which had hitherto adhered steadfastly to his interest under all the reverses of his shattered fortunes, now united with the rest of Europe in doing homage to the rising sun of Martin V.

About the year 1433, Paul Craw (or Crawler), a German physician of great professional eminence, took up his residence at St Andrews. He was supposed to have been commissioned by the followers of Huss, in Bohemia, to disseminate the tenets of the sect in Scotland—an office for which he was well qualified by his familiar acquaintance with the sacred writings, and his uncommon promptitude and skill in applying all the topics of scholastic disputation. But the venerable Laurence de Lindoris, inquisitor-general, (says Bower), whose vigilance gave no rest to heretics or Lollards in any part of Scotland, was not slack in rebuking his presumptuous folly. The term *rebuke*, or *refutation*, in this author, never fails to convey a most dismal meaning, and is very significantly rendered in another sentence, in which he says with great coolness that the obstinate arch-heretic was burnt to ashes on the 23d of July (having been hurried from his trial to the fatal stake). He alleges that this abominable sect, which may be likened to a generation of vipers, does not believe in purgatory, holds pilgrimages in abhor-

LECT.
1. °1417.
Pinkerton,
i. 94.
Bower, 449,
&c.1433.
Paul Craw
and the fol-
lowers of
Huss.
Pinkerton,
i. 126.
Bower, 495.

LECT.
I.

rence, despises the keys and orders of the Church, and denies the doctrine of the resurrection. It would have been strange indeed if they had rejected this most pleasing hope, for, if there be no resurrection, they must have been of all men most miserable. He says they were happily destroyed by the sagacity of the Council of Basel, and that the nobles and magistrates of Bohemia, who had too long tolerated them, were justly punished for their unwise indulgence. It is inconceivable with what rancorous glee the reverend Abbot of Iona pursues these votaries of truth through several wearisome pages of injurious invective,—saying that they were the antitypes of Cain, and Balaam, and Korah ; of the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees ; of the Stoics and the Epicureans ; of the Centaurs, and Hydras, and Syrens ; and of Samson's foxes burning down the cornfields with firebrands. But no abridgment can give any adequate idea of the monstrous and distorted picture drawn by this bigoted monk, who holds a conspicuous station among the ancient annalists of our country. Prejudices like his afford an unsatisfactory pledge for his fidelity ; but he could have no motive to deceive his readers when he relates the instances of relentless cruelty, which, in his estimation, entitled the inquisitorial courts to the applauses of posterity.

State of
Scotland
in the end
of the four-
teenth and
beginning of
the fifteenth
century.
Pinkerton,
i. 148, &c.

In the reigns of Robert II., Robert III., and James I., Scotland was gradually advancing from barbarism to civilisation. One of the most accurate and characteristic pictures of the state of the country in that age is to be found in the French Chronicles of Sir John Froissart, who wrote about the year 1400. He had been in Scotland when a young man, about forty years before (1360)—he particularly mentions having been

at Dalkeith—and he was in England in 1391 ; but much of his later information was obtained from the French knights, whose frequent intercourse with this nation enabled them to describe in lively colours the habits and manners of the people. The most common arts of life were in the rudest state—the houses were generally built of turf, supported by a few posts, and roofed with boughs. The construction of an ordinary dwelling for the labouring classes might be completed in three days. Such a state of the necessary arts was not by any means favourable to general progress ; but the education of James I. in the English court had a happy effect on Scottish civilisation. He was the first who promulgated the laws of the land in the vernacular tongue ; and in this respect he gave Scotland an advantage over the southern part of the island, in which the laws continued to be issued in Latin and French till the time of Richard III. The laws of James were well calculated to repress disorder, to promote industry, and to secure the comfort of his subjects.

The clergy formed a very large proportion of the legislative body, having sometimes even outnumbered the nobles with whom they sat as peers of Parliament. Thirteen bishops, fourteen abbots, five priors, in all thirty-two ecclesiastics, must have given great weight to the Church in the administration of affairs, in an age when the nobles seldom exceeded twenty ; but, at that period there is no particular reason to suspect them of having exerted any undue influence. On the contrary, they are believed to have been serviceable in supporting the regal authority in opposition to the turbulent and ferocious nobility, who were too apt to set the laws at defiance.

LECT.
I.

Pinkerton,
i. 173.

The privileges of the Church of Scotland, which are frequently ratified in the statutes, appear to have been considerable. Immunity from tribute, and exemption from military service, stood at the head of the list. The clergy were not subject to any secular jurisdiction; and, in a great number of causes, particularly those which now come before consistorial courts, such as testaments, marriages, processes relating to defamation, they were the constituted judges, to whose decision all ranks were required to submit. The king exerted little power over the Church. The bishops were chosen by the chapter, and the abbots by the monks. The secular clergy—*i.e.* the rectors and vicars who had the cure of souls in the different parishes—were nominated by the landed proprietors, who in a great proportion of cases were bishops and abbots. In the reign of James I., the monastic orders, particularly the Benedictine and Augustinian friars, were greatly relaxed in their discipline; and, probably, with a view of holding out an example of greater strictness, he introduced the Carthusians into the country. Pilgrimages were held in the highest estimation, and masses were supposed to possess a sovereign charm. It may be added that about this time a number of provostries or collegiate churches were instituted, in which the superior was styled *Præpositus*, or Provost, and the prebends or secular canons conducted the daily service and the celebration of masses, while the parish churches attached to them were served by vicars, appointed by the collegiate body.

Almost the only species of learning which was openly cultivated was school divinity and the subsidiary branches of study. To this age, indeed, belong some of our antique poets, who described the

affairs of their country in historical ballads, such as John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, author of *The Bruce*; Thomas Barry, canon of Glasgow; Andrew Wintoun, prior of Lochleven, the writer of a well-known Chronicle, the chief value of which consists in its preserving a copious specimen of the language of the natives. Among scholars and men of genius in his own reign, perhaps James I. himself may deserve to hold the highest place. He had been originally educated by Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, and afterwards enjoyed the advantage of being instructed by the best teachers while he was a prisoner in England. Unhappily for this country, his calamitous life prevented him from patronising those studies in which he was one of the greatest proficient. Otherwise, there can be little doubt that he would have obtained a higher name among the restorers of letters than even Nicholas V., or the family of Medici.

In the reign of James II., when the tranquillity of 1437-1483.
the country and the stability of the throne were endangered by the ambition of the house of Douglas, the monarch was chiefly indebted for his safety to the vigour and intelligence of his kinsman, James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, a son of Lord Kennedy and the Countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III. During the minority of James III. (who began to reign in the year 1460), the skill and integrity of this prelate are understood to have been instrumental in directing the measures of Government, while he superintended the education of his youthful sovereign. In this important charge he spent the last six years of his life; for three of which, after the death of the queen-mother, Mary of Guelders, he may be said to have exercised the sole power of the State. The wealth which he

Bishop
James Ken-
nedy, and
Turnbull,
Bishop of
Glasgow.

LECT.
I.

amassed, during a prelacy of twenty-six years, was expended in the encouragement of arts and commerce, and in laying the foundation for the future advancement of science. He has been justly celebrated as a prudent counsellor, an exemplary ruler of the Church, a regular visitor of all the parishes within his diocese, a charitable friend of the poor, a steady promoter of peace and union, and a munificent patron of education. His name, which deserves to be numbered among those of the most eminent Scotchmen, is especially worthy of honourable commemoration in this city in connection with the College which he founded about ten years before his death. One of his contemporaries, William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, was also the founder of a College, which, though in its first beginning a more humble establishment than St Salvator's, has, in the course of ages, risen to first-rate eminence among the seminaries of public instruction. If bishops like these had been more numerous in Europe, the history of the Church of Rome would not exhibit so many gloomy pages, and the rise of the Reformation would not be contemplated with such lively interest.

The premature death of Turnbull prevented the completion of his magnificent designs; and neither Kennedy's successor nor his had the liberal and enlightened views by which these eminent men had been signalised.

It is said by Leslie, the historian, that several other Scottish bishops and abbots of that age were distinguished for their erudition, hospitality, and piety. A rapid deterioration was in progress.

Hitherto the Pope had scarcely ventured to dispose of any of the Scottish benefices; and even for some years after this, the Parliament continued to guard against the encroachments of the Roman see, by forbidding

See *supra*,
p. 16, note.

Decline of
the inde-
pendence
and parity
of the
Church,
1466.

[Pinkerton,
i. 276.
Spotswood,
60. Leslie,
*De Orig.
Scotorum*
(1578),
317.]

[*Act. Parl.*
Scot. ii. 99,
&c.]

the clergy, under pain of treason, to solicit or accept any livings from his Holiness which had not formerly been held of him, and by securing to the clergy the right of electing their diocesans and other dignitaries. The King himself, however, was the first to set an example of the violation of this law, by obtaining the Pope's confirmation of an abbot of Dunfermline, nominated by himself in opposition to one chosen by the brethren of the monastery; and after this period any layman possessed of wealth might, without ceremony, purchase from his sovereign a rich benefice, or even an abbacy or priory. Considering the times in which he wrote, the popish Bishop Leslie deserves no small credit for the ingenuousness with which he admits these facts, so dishonourable to the Church no less than to the King, and for the indignant terms^a in which he denounces them. James III. was so accessible to bribery as, under a promise of 12,000 merks, to yield to the machinations of the degraded race of bishops against Patrick Graham, the successor of Kennedy, who first held the appointment of Primate of all Scotland, with the lordly title of Archbishop; but who, so far from being suffered to enjoy this

LECT.
I.

1473.

^a [Hinc omnes illæ maculæ, quæ postea monasteria, monachosque in Scotia longè lateque infecerunt, primo quoque tempore effluxere. Postquam enim Laicis gradus quidam monasteriorum proventus possidendi, Regis quasi vi, et auctoritate factus fuerat, omnes cupiditate incensi, abbatias atque alia ecclesiastica munera ambitiosè consectabantur: ut in summo otio, maximeque rerum copia, delitiis, mundique illecebris irretiti, neglecto plerique Dei cultu, et debito hospitalitatis jurè spreto, luxu diffuserunt. Interea temporis piæ contributiones

elemosynæque in deliciarum abusum conversæ, et divitiæ, quæ ad pauperum miseras levandas sepositæ fuerant, postea ad divitum explendas voluptates evocabantur. Non jam abbates, qui pietate præstabant, sunt electi a monachis: sed qui gratia valebant, selecti a Regibus. Pro Bernardis et Benedictis, homines ex aulicorum grege, voluptatibus et delitiis servientes sunt substituti. Undè vitio atque odio secularium, in monasteriis impie helluantium, ipsi ecclesiastici in populi offensiones maximè incurrebant. —*Leslie*, 317.]

LECT.
I.

elevation, was doomed to a long imprisonment in the Castle of Lochleven, where, after lingering seven years, he sunk under the persecution of a venal prince and an unprincipled priesthood.

Penal laws
against
witchcraft,
1479.

[Buchanan,
426.]

Perhaps it may not be altogether fair to form an estimate of the character of that age, in respect either of intelligence or humanity, by taking notice of the number of persons who, for the first time in Scotland, are said to have been burnt for witchcraft. This horrible punishment, according to Buchanan, was inflicted on twelve females, who, after having been put to the torture, were condemned as accomplices with the Earl of Mar, the King's brother, in having practised against his life by magical incantations. If their intention was treasonable and murderous, it cannot be denied that they had forfeited their lives,—and whatever we may think of the severity of the mode in which they were doomed to expiate their crime, we have little reason to reproach the judges or the lawgivers of the country for their credulity, when we reflect that it is within the memory of persons now alive^a that the sanguinary statutes against witchcraft have been expunged by the legislature of Great Britain. Thirty years before the period of which we are now treating, the Duchess of Gloucester had been committed to prison in England on the same charge; and the records of every other European kingdom furnish numberless instances of the barbarities which have been committed on the pretence of purging the commonwealth of malefactors who, not content with the human means of doing mischief, invoked the aid of infernal agents.^β

^a [*i.e.* in 1816. The statutes in question were repealed in 1736.—ED.]

^β See Appendix, No. II.

We have few means of appreciating the value of the literature of James III.'s reign. The poems of Holland and Clerk, and the blind minstrel Henry, who committed the traditionary history of Wallace to uncouth rhymes, have been preserved chiefly by the vulgar,—and Bower, the Continuator of Fordun's *Scotichronicon* who preceded most of these writers by a few years, is not entitled to a much higher place in the scale of merit, though he wrote in a more learned dialect. Meagre and unsatisfactory as his pages are, it is to be regretted that four-score years elapsed after he had ceased to write before any other Scottish annalist arose whose name or whose works have descended to our times.

LECTURE II.

RELIGION AND LEARNING IN SCOTLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION
 (CONCLUDED)—ACT AS TO ATTENDANCE ON GRAMMAR SCHOOLS—
 ANDREW FORMAN—PATRICK HAMILTON'S MARTYRDOM—CONDEMNATION OF SIR JOHN BORTHWICK—WORKS WRITTEN BY CHURCHMEN IN THE REIGN OF JAMES V.—MANNERS OF THE CLERGY AT THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION—INDEX EXPURGATORIUS—REVENUES OF THE CHURCH—OFFICES AND ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE REGULAR AND SECULAR CLERGY—CHURCH PATRONAGE—THE WEALTH OF THE CHURCH A SOURCE OF ITS CORRUPTION, AND OTHERWISE ONE OF THE MEANS OF ITS OVERTHROW.

LECT.
 II.

WE have taken a rapid sketch of the state of Scotland in respect of religion and learning from the days of Malcolm Canmore to those of James III., and we have found that for a long period Scotland was less dependent on the Papal See than almost any other country in Europe. Religious persecution, too, appears to have been scarcely known at all till the beginning of the fifteenth century, about the year 1408. Even after this period, however, the clergy cannot be accused of having been universally determined to keep their countrymen in the degradation of ignorance. Some of the leading men in the Church gave the most substantial proofs of their sincere desire to promote the civilisation, the instruction, and the best interests of the nation; and there is good reason to believe that under their influence many beneficial laws were framed. After the middle of the

century, however, they became more and more corrupt and profligate. Even Spotswood is compelled to acknowledge that the ignorance and impiety of the whole ecclesiastical state produced in the following age what he is pleased to call the violent and disorderd reformation. The bishops and mitred abbots, and, indeed, all the orders of ecclesiastical persons, were disgraced by the most odious passions and the most unchristian practices.

LECT.
II.[Spotswood,
60.]

Under the government of the martial and enterprising James IV. the nation enjoyed for a season a great degree of prosperity. The chivalrous monarch was not, indeed, a model of virtue. He was vain, prodigal, and licentious; but many of his undertakings tended to the advancement of the useful and ornamental arts, and the superstitious turn of his mind was favourable to the progress of ecclesiastical architecture. The laws passed in his reign promoted the improvement and civilisation of the rudest parts of the kingdom, and one most memorable ordinance required all barons and wealthy freeholders to send their eldest sons to grammar schools, between the age of six and nine, to continue till they acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Latin tongue; and after passing through this preliminary discipline, they were to apply three years to the study of the liberal arts and law in one of the three universities, that they might thus be qualified for administering justice among their own dependents. Another of the laws was intended to prevent the interference of the Pope in the distribution of Church preferments—an enactment which was more necessary now than before the weakness of his father had opened so wide a door to foreign influence and papal exactions.

James IV.
1488.Grammar
Schools.[*Acts of
the Parlia-
ment of
Scotland,*
ii. 238.]

[Ib. ii. 237.]

LECT.
II.

1500.

Andrew
Forman,
Bishop of
Moray.
[Pinkerton,
ii. 65, &c.]

In the conclusion of the fifteenth century (1500) Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, with the approbation of the King, established a university in the metropolis of his see. The partiality of James to the bishops and clergy had an unhappy influence on some of his affairs. The crafty Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, who had formerly been protonotary to the detestable pontiff Alexander VI., and who afterwards became Archbishop of St Andrews, never failed to abuse the confidence of his sovereign, and at the expense of his country's honour and advantage to ingratiate himself at every court with which he was employed to negotiate. It may well be conceived that a Scottish ambassador, who obtained from the avaricious Henry VIII. of England the rich Abbey of Coldingham, and who enjoyed also the archbishopric of Bourges in France, along with the abbacies of Arbroath and Dunfermline, as well as the dignity and revenue of metropolitan in his native country, which he owed to the favour of the Pope, did not receive all his emoluments and offices as the reward of disinterested patriotism. Buchanan is supposed to have been utterly unacquainted with this artful politician's character, to whose fatal influence is ascribed the disastrous war with England, which terminated in the slaughter of the King and the nobles of Scotland on the field of Flodden. It was in consequence of the death of the King's natural son, Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who fell in this battle in the year 1513, that Forman, after a long contest with the celebrated Gawin Douglas and John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, rose to the possession of the metropolitan see, which he held till the year 1522, when he ended his days in the Abbey of Dunfermline, without having fallen from his

ill-merited greatness like his worthless contemporary Wolsey.

LECT.
II.

In the minority of James V. the great offices of state were bestowed chiefly upon churchmen, whose genius at this, as at many former periods of our history, had been turned more to the study of politics than to the spiritual pursuits which would have been more consonant with their profession. The dignity of Lord Chancellor, vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St Andrews, was granted to the Archbishop of Glasgow, James Beton, who afterwards rose to the highest aggrandisement attainable in his native church. This great office had generally been held from the earliest times by bishops, abbots, and other dignified ecclesiastics. The office of Lord High Treasurer, which, before the death of James IV., had been conferred on Cuthbert Bailie, Commendator of Glenluce, was soon afterwards given to James Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, brother of John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, the founder of St Leonard's College. The Archdeacon of St Andrews, Gawin Dunbar, afterwards Bishop of Aberdeen, then of Glasgow, was Lord Register, and tutor to the King. Whatever might be the disposal of the subordinate appointments, it is obvious that the arrangements now enumerated must have given great weight to the clergy in the direction of civil affairs. How they employed their influence is not unknown. The Chancellor, intent on his own promotion and that of his kindred, engaged in disgraceful intrigues with Cardinal Wolsey, who promised that, if he espoused the interest of England, he should obtain from the Pope the enviable situation of legate, with the power of granting confirmation to all abbacies in the kingdom. After he was removed from the

James V.
1513.

James
Beton,
Archbishop
of Glasgow.

LECT.
II.Patrick
Hamilton
condemned
to the
flames.
1528.[Knox,
Hist. (1732)
4-13.]Cardinal
Beton.

chancellorship by the ascendancy of the Earl of Angus, he contributed all his aid to effect the ruin of that ambitious chieftain. But his memory is stained with crimes of deeper enormity. To him belongs the infamous distinction of having been a bloody persecutor of the friends of reformation, though such appeared to be his indifference to religion that he can scarcely be admitted to have been entitled to the palliation of having thought that when he killed the saints he was doing God service. The amiable Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, a young man in his twenty-fourth year, nearly related to the Earl of Arran and the Duke of Albany, was charged with having uttered and defended some of the doctrines of the German reformers. His positions were submitted to the consideration of the divines and law professors in the University, who concurred in pronouncing them heretical. The Archbishop having received the report of the theologians in a numerous meeting of bishops, abbots, priors, and other orders of clergy, did not scruple to confirm this sentence, and to deliver up his victim to the secular arm. It is unnecessary to dwell on the affecting narrative of this pious youth's execution, which is related in all the common histories of those times, particularly in Knox's *History of the Reformation*.

Before the turbulent James Beton closed his career, many other persons were committed to the flames for their religious opinions,—a considerable number of whom had been priests or canons of the Catholic Church. The nephew of Beton, the heir of his vices and his preferments, proceeded with still greater fury against all who were chargeable with disaffection to the established creed. By his stern man-

date, the eating of an egg on meagre days was construed into heresy, and was punishable with death ; no person suspected of heresy was ever to be admitted to any civil office or privilege ; and whoever fled after being accused or suspected of this crime, was held to be condemned. The year after his accession to the see, he assembled a court of spiritual and temporal peers for the trial of Sir John Borthwick, who, having escaped, was condemned to be burnt in effigy for having vented some opinions which were not reputed orthodox ; but one of the principal charges against him was the reading of the New Testament in English,^a and some of the works of Melancthon, Cæcolampadius, and Erasmus. I happen to be possessed of the record of the trial, which I am sure is authentic, as it is copied from that which was brought before the Superintendent's Court in St Andrews, immediately after the Reformation ; and as Wynram the

Trial of Sir
John Borth-
wick.

^a [Sir John Borthwick was one of the sons of William, third Lord Borthwick, who was slain at Flodden in 1513. He is described in a charter under the Great Seal, 21st August 1538, as next in succession to the son and heir of William fourth Lord Borthwick. Knox and other writers call him Captain Borthwick, and Sir Ralph Sadler, in February 1539-40, mentions him repeatedly as lieutenant of the French King's Guard, and as a confidential and favourite servant of James V. It is probable that his intimacy with Sir Ralph Sadler contributed to excite the suspicions and dislike of the clergy, and that his marked familiarity with Sir David Lyndsay, whose Satyre of the Three Estaittis was presented about this period at Linlithgow (of which town Borthwick is said to have been provost), did not by any means tend to ingratiate him with

the supporters of the declining interest of the Church of Rome. Sir John died between the year 1565 and 1570, at which last date we find William Borthwick mentioned as son and heir of the late Sir John Borthwick of Cinery [Reg. Mag. Sigil. lxxxiii. No. 55.] His condemnation as a heretic is transiently noticed by several of our historians, and the articles preferred against him, with the answers which he published after his escape, have been inserted by Foxe in the second volume of his Acts and Monuments. From Foxe the account of the process is professedly copied by Keith in his Appendix to the History of Scotland (p. 6) ; but he has omitted several material parts of the charge, which were faithfully detailed by Foxe, particularly that which relates to the reading of the New Testament in English, and other prohibited books. The

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II.

Superintendent, who reversed the sentence, had been one of the judges, when the articles were condemned as heretical, it is inconceivable that he should have permitted any falsification of the original.

Manners of
the clergy
in the reign
of James V.

The manners of the clergy at the dawn of the Reformation had no tendency to avert that revolution. The friars, indeed, attempted to preach in defence of ceremonies and superstitions, for the purpose of counteracting the oratory of the Lollards; but those who sold indulgences for sin, while their own lives were spent in vicious excesses, could not expect their sermons to be listened to with respect by persons who retained any trace of principle or any regard for decency. The first reformed preachers in this country, having been friars themselves, did not spare the vices of their former associates. But though James V. refused to support the established clergy in their

translation from the Latin, both in Foxe and Keith, is in some parts so inaccurate as to be quite unintelligible. No writer has ever yet published an account of the reversal of the sentence. The circumstances attending the second judicial inquiry are remarkable, particularly in this respect, that the judge who presided in the court by which Borthwick was unanimously acquitted in 1561, was one of those "plain enemies to the truth," described in the Process of Declarator, who had sat on his first trial in 1540, and had then been consenting to his condemnation. This was John Wynram (inaccurately named *Winton* by Keith), the Subprior of the Augustinian Monastery, afterwards Superintendent of Fife, author of a Catechism, of which no copy is now known to exist. If it were possible to recover the private memorials of John Wynram, many curious particulars in

the secret history of the Reformation might thus be supplied. He was a man of an intriguing turn, and probably was admitted to the confidence of men of both parties. It is not understood that he ever made any strenuous efforts in supporting the Protestant doctrines, but he was allowed to retain some of the most lucrative appointments in the Church, along with the dignity and honour of a superintendent. In various actions carried on in the Commissary Court of St Andrews, he continued to be designed *prior of Portmouk, subprior of St Andrews, superintendent of Strathern, parson of Kirkness, &c.* till the time of his death in September 1582.—(*Wodrow's Biographical Collections, printed by the Maitland Club. Note communicated by Rev. Dr Lee. Vol. II., p. 253.*) For a copy of the original process, see Appendix, No. III.]

schemes of vengeance, it was not yet safe to assail the strongholds of delusion, and the ablest of the learned men who first lifted up the standard against the errors of Popery found it necessary to seek a temporary asylum in states which had renounced their allegiance to the Roman see. Some of them took refuge in Germany, others in Denmark, and others in Switzerland.^a

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II.

The works written by Churchmen of this reign were generally of little value. Dunbar and Douglas, two of the Scottish bishops, contest the poetic wreath with Sir David Lyndsay, and Dunbar is very generally allowed to deserve the pre-eminence. In graver compositions scarcely any of them excelled. John Mair, more commonly known by his Latin name, Joannes Major, is often spoken of with unmerited contempt. The history which bears his name formed an important acquisition to the literature of this country, and the sentiments which it conveys are uniformly favourable to liberty. His claims to notice as a scholastic divine are not so easily adjusted. Few persons have now the patience to review, even in the most cursory manner, the ponderous folios which contain the hidden treasures of theological speculation, derived from the inexhaustible mines of Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus. Buchanan has been blamed for his ridicule of this sage personage, under whom he prosecuted the study of dialectics in this university, or, as he says (probably with sufficient accuracy), the study of sophistry. But it is not so much by this

Literature.

[*Buchanan*
Vita ab ipso
Scripta.
Ejusdem
Epigram.
Lib. i.]

^a [One of these voluntary exiles was invited to a theological chair in Cambridge in 1535, and published at London a work entitled, "Alexandri Alesii Epistola contra decretum quoddam Episcoporum in Scotia, quod prohibet legere Novi Testamenti libros lingua vernacula."]

LECT. remark that he has given offence as by the following
 II. epigram :—

“ In Joannem solo cognomento Majorem, ut ipse in
 fronte libri sui scripsit.

“ Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
 Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro ;
 Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat,
 Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.”

Buchanan might have had more compassion for the dotage of his aged preceptor and former benefactor ; and he might have reflected, also, that Scotland could, at that period, boast of no more respectable author. Hector Boece, or Boethius, the first Principal of Aberdeen College, was very far below him as a historian. Adam Abel, a Franciscan friar, wrote a Latin History of Scotland, ending with the year 1535, and afterwards condensed it in an English compendium ; but both the one and the other have unfortunately perished.

The introduction of printing^a into Scotland, and the encouragement given to grammar schools by James IV.,

Early edi-
 tions of the
Index Ec-

^a [For the privilege by the king to Walter Chepman and Andro Millar, the first Scottish printers, “ who had at our instance and request, for our plesour, the honour and profit of our realme and liegis, takin on thame to furnis and bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand tharto, and expert men to use the samyne,” see Appendix, No. 1, to the Author’s *Memorial for the Bible Societies*. It appears from the *Memorial*, that for some time the Scottish press had been of little service to literature. The only publications ascertained to have been printed by Chepman and Millar, are a collection of pamphlets, chiefly romances and ballads, in 1508, and the Aberdeen Breviary. No book printed by Chepman and Millar is known after

1510, nor any other printer, till about the year 1530.

During the reign of James V., and subsequently to Chepman and Millar’s grant, a number of books written by Scottish authors were printed on the Continent, whence they were imported and sold in Scotland. A specimen may be given of these books, of which it would be easy to enlarge the catalogue :—*Dav. Cranstoun de Fortitudine*, Par. 1511 ; and *Questiones Physicales* (about the same date). *Geo. Lokert Scoti Apyrensis Scriptum de Materia Notitiarum*, Par. 1518. *Geo. Lokert, S. T. P. Syllogysmi*, ib., 1522. *Ejusdem Tractatus Proportionum*. *Ejusdem Questiones et Decisiones Physicales*, Par. 1518. *Ejusdem Tractatus Ecxponibilium*, ib., 1522. *Ejusd. de Oppo-*

facilitated the diffusion of knowledge. Many, how-
 ever, were the contrivances by which, at the same
 time, the Church laboured to prolong the darkness of
 ignorance. The *Indices Expurgatorii*,^a published since
 the Reformation, though worded with great caution,
 afford some illustration of the plausible pretences
 by which the popes have endeavoured to check the
 progress of religious truth. The device of furnish-
 ing a catalogue of prohibited works, and of works
 which contained many obnoxious passages, was not
 necessary before the invention of printing; but it is
 probable that, very soon after that invention had
 multiplied copies of books, such lists began to be cir-
 culated. Pius IV. appears to have been the first who
 published such an Index, and Clement VIII. greatly

LECT.
II.*expurgator-
ius.*

sitionibus, ib., 1523. *Gul. Mander-
 ston Tripartitum Epitoma in dialecticæ
 Artis principia*, Par. 1514. *Gul. Man-
 derston Bipartitum in Morali Philo-
 sophia Opusculum*, Par. 1518. (A
 second edition in 1524.) *Jo. Ma-
 joris, Scoti Haddingtonani, Introduc-
 torium in Aristotelicam Dialecticam*.
 Lugd. 1514. *Ejusd. in Quartum (li-
 brum) Sententiarum Commentarius*,
 Par. 1516. *Questiones in Tertium Sen-
 tent.*, ib. 1517. *Ejusd. Literalis in
 Matthæum Expositio*, &c. Par. 1518.
Ejusd. Quæst. in Quartum Sentent., ib.
 1519. *Ejusd. Historia Majoris Britan.*
 ib. 1521. *Luculente in Quatuor Eren-
 gelia Expositiones*, Par. 1529, &c.
Jo. Vaus, Grammatica, Par. 1522.
*Heet. Boetii Episcoporum Murthlacen-
 sium et Aberdonensium Vitæ*, Par.
 1522. *Ejusd. Sconorum Historiæ*, Par.
 1526. It is well known that it was
 impossible to get any book printed in
 Scotland at that time; for John Vaus,
 who was Professor of Humanity at
 Aberdeen from 1500 till 1537, has
 lamented the necessity which com-
 pelled him to encounter great danger

in a voyage to France, for the pub-
 lication of his grammar. His col-
 league, Hector Boece, does not seem
 to have ventured on so perilous an
 expedition, when he had his history
 printed at the same press, five years
 afterwards. The numerous errata are
 thus accounted for: "Horum similia
 si offendes, lector, elementer ignos-
 ces: difficile enim erat in re ignota et
 litera peregrina ab archetypo aberrasse
 nihil."

It may be added, that though Andro
 Millar's name, and the badge of the
 windmill, by which he was distin-
 guished, cannot be traced even so late
 as the printing of the Aberdeen Bre-
 viary, Walter Chepman resided in
 Edinburgh many years afterwards.
 He founded a chaplainry in St Giles's,
 at the altar of St John the Evangelist,
 in the year 1513; and in the year
 1519, he seems to have been a brew-
 er in the suburbs.—(*Mem. for Bib.
 Soc.*)]

^a Dr Cook has given a short account
 of one edition of the *Index* in his
History of the Reformation, i. 117.

LECT.
II.

enlarged it. All the books written by reputed heretics were prohibited without any reservation or exception, however innocent or indifferent the subject might be. The translations of Scripture, and the annotations upon them, were on no account to be allowed, unless all the suspected passages were obliterated by the Inquisition or by some Catholic university. Even the monks and nuns were prevented from reading translations of the Scripture without license of their superiors. No concordances, lexicons, or other works of that nature, were permitted, unless previously corrected by the proper authority. No books of controversy in the vulgar tongue of any nation were to be read except by those who had license. No book was to be printed without the approbation of the Pope's deputies, and no manuscripts were to be used without the same precaution. All quotations of Scripture were to be erased, unless used in a sense conformable to the uniform opinion of the Catholic fathers and doctors. By this rule very few scriptural quotations could be retained, as it would have been difficult to find almost any passage concerning which the opinions of even Catholic doctors had been uniform. But if the quotations were used against heretics, the examiners were not required to be so scrupulous in maintaining consistency.

Persecution
in Scotland.

The Index of prohibited works, and of works requiring material emendations (as they were falsely represented), would have had little effect if the most severe penalties had not been annexed to the infringement of these rules. The aid of the Inquisition was called in, and the tremendous machinery of persecution was set to work. It never proceeded to so great an extent in Scotland as in many other countries ; but the willing

mind was not wanting ; and we have seen that one of the chief causes of the condemnation of Sir John Borthwick was his reading Wickliffe's translation of the New Testament,^a and having in his possession some of the works of the German and Swiss reformers. On this topic I need not enlarge, as every history of that age contains all the more remarkable narratives at sufficient length, and whoever has a taste for this kind of reading may have it amply gratified by the perusal of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of the Church*.

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II.

[To the particulars which have now been noticed respecting the state of religion and learning in Scotland before the Reformation, it may be proper to add] a general view of the various offices, the revenues, and establishments both of the regular and secular clergy. The revenue of the church, especially, is a matter of no small consideration in the history of the Reformation in this country.

Offices,
revenues,
and estab-
lishments of
the Church.

^a ["The false-named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of your Highness most noble gudshir of worthy memory (James V.), made it a capital crime, to be punished with the fire, to have or read the New Testament in the vulgar language : and to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been the detestable name of a pernicious sect, they were named New Testamentars." (Epistle Dedicatory by the General Assembly to Edition of the Bible in 1579.) The danger did not cease after the passing of the act for having the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Buchanan informs us that Cardinal Beton, with the Earl of Arran, made a progress through several districts for the purpose of suppressing heresy in 1545. After describing their severities at Perth, he says, "Taodunum profecti,

ipsi se prædicabant ad pœnas de Novi Testamenti lectoribus ire sumendas. Nam, illa tempestate, id inter gravissima crimina numerabatur : tantaque erat cœcitas, ut sacerdotum plerique, novitatis nomine offensi, contenderent, eum librum nuper a Martino Luthero fuisse scriptum, ac Vetus Testamentum reposcerent." (Hist. p. 534.) The pretence of the clergy, that Martin Luther was the author of the New Testament, was probably artfully contrived to expose the importers of the Scriptures to the penalties of the Act 1535 against heretics ; in which act the books of Luther were forbidden to be used, kept, or concealed. Even the Act 1542 made it sufficiently dangerous to express any opinions concerning the contents and meaning of the Scriptures.

The zealous exertions of the popish

LECT.
II.

Every one knows that the primitive Church had no property. The charges incident on the service of God were supplied by the bounty of pious individuals. Constantine the Great was the first who provided a regular maintenance for the ministers of Christianity, and gave them the importance of an establishment. For some time the bishops and the inferior clergy led a collegiate life, having all things in common. At this period the clergy received the name of *canons*, because they lived according to fixed *rules* (*secundum canones*). About the year 472 the rents of the Church were divided into four parts—one of which was granted to the bishop, a second to the rest of the clergy, a third to the poor, and a fourth to the support of the buildings. The canons still continued to form an association bound to a certain regular mode of living, having a common refectory, and a dormitory where all of them slept. When at last they wearied of this strict discipline, it was conceived to be a better arrangement to subdivide the revenue into distinct

clergy in preventing the reading of the English Bible are alluded to by Lyndsay in *Kittie's Confessione*,—

“ Quod he, Hard ye na Inglis bukis ?
Quod scho, My maister on thame
lukis :

Quod he, The bischop that sall
knew,

For I am sworn that for to schaw.”

This poem is understood to have been written in 1544. The opposition of the clergy to the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue continued, therefore, as violent as ever. We find the same author, in his “Dialog of the Miserabill Estait of the World,” (which was not completed before the year 1553), saying,—

“ I wuld prelatiss, and doctouris of the
law,

With us lawid pepill wer nocht dis-
content :

Thocht we into our vulgare tounge
did know

Of Christ Jesus the lyfe and testa-
ment.”

. . . One of the “Gude and Godlie Ballates,” beginning, *The Wind blows Cold*, contains the following stanza, descriptive of the state of our ancestors in these “times of ignorance :”—

“ Quha dois present the New Testa-
ment

Quhilk is our faith surely,
Priestis callis him like ane heretick,
And sayis, burnt sall he be.”—(*Bib.
Mem.*)]

portions, and to give every member an apartment and a table of his own. From that time the general designation of *prebendaries* was bestowed on them, and the several assignations or localities on which they subsisted were called *prebends*. They now began to reside where they pleased, and very often at a distance from the cathedral or collegiate body, and, from the irregularity of their attendance, they were named *secular canons*. When great part of the revenue of the bishopric arose from the annexation of parochial churches, those which were allotted to the bishop himself were called *patrimonial* or *mensal churches*, as being appropriated to the support of his table; and those which were allotted for the benefit of the chapter and other general uses were known by the name of *common churches*, as the bishop and other members of the chapter had a common interest in them.

It is a common opinion that the bishops and other orders of clergy lived at first all together at the cathedral churches, to which all the people within the diocese repaired, as if it formed one parish, and that some of the clergy were sent out from time to time, to the more distant parts of the province, to administer the word and sacraments. Places of worship were erected in some of the more populous of these rural districts, and in process of time the circumjacent tracts of country were called parishes.

By degrees various descriptions of churches arose—namely, cathedrals for bishops, collegiate churches for secular canons, who performed masses, parish churches for preaching presbyters, and chapels for private worship, besides altars in the cathedrals and collegiate churches, dedicated to various saints.

In the twelfth century the possessions of the Church

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II.

began to be called *benefices*, because they originated chiefly from the beneficence of the devout, who consecrated part of their substance to the service of religion. Benefices were of two sorts: *regular*, belonging to the monastic orders or regular clergy, and *secular*, which belonged to the bishops and the churchmen under their inspection. Each of these kinds of livings consisted of a *temporality* and a *spirituality*,—the *temporality* including the lands and other civil rights, superiorities and jurisdictions,—and the *spirituality* including the tithes, churches, and churchyards, glebes, and manses, which, according to the canonists, pertained to the Church *jure divino*. The churchmen of the middle ages, not content with the prædial tithes, or the tenths of the fruits of the earth, and other products annually renewed, are said to have claimed as their due the tenth part of the profits of the merchant, the pay of the soldier, the hire of the labourer; and even after the products of industry were thus decimated for the support of ecclesiastics, it has been asserted that none of them would perform any of the offices of religion to individuals without receiving fees or gratuities. Hence *arose* the custom of exacting dues for the administration of baptism and the communion, the solemnisation of marriages, and the rites of burial. Very many of them have been accused of having so completely lost sight of the purposes of their vocation as to have claimed both the temporality and spirituality of their benefices, without even the appearance of doing any duty, or even taking up their residence in the bounds to which they were appointed.^a The patrimony of the Church in many countries was pro-

^a It had long been customary for the possessor of a living, when necessarily absent, to obtain the assistance of another clergyman to supply his

digious. The estates of some churchmen in Germany were great principalities. In Scotland, the ecclesiastical property was nearly equal to one-half of the kingdom—the temporality having been little less than a fourth, and the spirituality, including the tithes, more than a fourth of the whole rent. The dignified clergy formed a third estate in the parliament, in which they mustered fifty-three votes—and they were assessed to the extent of one-half of the public contributions for the service of the Government. As lords of regalities, they appointed subordinate judges to try all manner of causes, both civil and criminal.

Benefices, both regular and secular, were granted either in *title* or *commendam*. The *titular* held the right during his life, with the power of disposing of the rents. The *commendator*, to whom a benefice was given *in commendam*, was at first only a factor or steward, while there was no titular—but by degrees there arose two kinds of commendators, *temporary* and *perpetual*—the latter of whom were empowered during their life to convert the profits to their own use in the same manner as the titulars.

I. I shall first discuss the *regular benefices*, or those of the monastic orders.

The first monastery in Scotland is said to have been founded by St Columba, in one of the Western Islands,

Regular
Clergy.

place, and at last, with the sanction of the papal authority, it became a general practice to create perpetual vicarages. From that time the persons who engrossed the chief share of the patrimony of the Church withdrew altogether from the spiritual functions, and betook themselves to the management of secular affairs, or, what was nearly the same thing, to the

intrigues and negotiations by which the political importance of the ecclesiastical order was maintained. Instead of preaching the gospel to the poor, they cultivated the favour of the great, and laboured to make themselves of consequence among the courtiers and statesmen whose partiality might aid them in their views of preferment.

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II.

which was named after him Icolmkill. This religious house was the model after which other communities for the same purpose were soon afterwards formed, and it exercised a sort of supremacy over all the rest, every one of which was a place of education for the parochial clergy. Before there were any bishops in Scotland, the monks are said to have ruled the Church with great simplicity and exemplary sanctity. These monks are known by the appellation of Culdees, and they are said to have been the chief opponents of the papal encroachments till the twelfth century, when David I. admitted a legate from Innocent II. The Culdees, however, were not completely suppressed till the fourteenth century.

The chief of the regular clergy in Scotland were the Augustinians, the Benedictines, the Carmelites, the Franciscans, and the Carthusians, most of which were divided into several orders. Some of them lived on the endowments or rents mortified for their support, others were *Mendicants*, who had no stated source of subsistence.

Benedic-
tines.

One of the most ancient orders was that of Benedictines, named from St Benedict, an Italian. They were subdivided into the monks of Mairmointier, of Cluni, and of Tyron, and Cistercians or Bernardines. Their principal monasteries were Coldingham and Dunfermline,—Kelso, Kilwinning, Arbroath, and Lindoris,—Paisley, Crossraguel, and Icolmkill,—Melrose, Newbattle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, and Culross.

Augustin-
ians.

The canons regular of the Augustinian order were a still more numerous and opulent sect. They were distinguished from ordinary monks, by performing the functions of parish ministers. They had twenty-eight monasteries in Scotland, among which were Scone,

Inchcolm, St Andrews, Holyrood House, Abernethy, Cambuskenneth, and St Mary's Isle. About twenty other monasteries professed to be canons regular,—but they were either Canons of St Anthony, or Red Friars, or Ræmonstratenses. LECT.
II.

The Carthusians were the most austere of all the orders. They had only one establishment in this country, namely at Perth, where they were settled by James I. Carthusi-
aus.

The Mendicant orders were four in number—Dominicans, or Black Friars ; Franciscans, or Grey Friars ; Carmelites, or White Friars ; and Hermits of St Augustine. Of these, the Black Friars were the most considerable, and the Grey Friars were not far behind them. Mendicants.

All the monks were distinguished by a tonsure, or shaven crown, in token of their expectation of a crown of life. All of them took the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience ; and some orders subjected themselves to additional obligations of a peculiar nature. Their pride and power became enormous, after they obtained exemption from the episcopal jurisdiction. The chief of the monastery was the Abbot, and the monasteries of the same order were subject to one *Provincial* as their superior. The next officer to the abbot was the Prior, and under him the Subprior. Some priories, however, were independent of the abbots, and among the rest the rich Augustinian convent of St Andrews, the prior of which, by an act of James I., had precedence of all other abbots and priors in the kingdom. Their
offices,

A vast number of churches,^a with the lands and tithes, were annexed to the different monasteries. and estab-
lishments.

^a [It is evident from Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, set forth in 1551, how far the actual means of religious instruction were from being in

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II.

Thus they became patrons of a great many churches. The monastery of Paisley had twenty-eight churches belonging to it. Arbroath thirty-two, and Kelso thirty-six. The cure of these churches was generally served by vicars. The number of abbeys and monasteries in this country considerably exceeded a hundred. The nunneries were less numerous : there were above twenty, some of which contained many inmates. It is impossible now to obtain an exact computation of the numbers, both male and female, who devoted themselves to a monastic life, but they must have amounted to several thousands.

Secular
clergy.

II. The secular clergy were of various orders and dignities. The four minor orders in the Church were Door-keepers, Readers, Acolytes, and Exorcists. The three greater orders were Sub-deacons, Deacons, and Priests. The high dignities in the Church were also seven—Pope, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops. Their subalterns were—Dean, Sub-dean, Archdeacon, Chanter, Subchanter, Chancellor, Treasurer, Provosts, and Episcopal Chapters.

Cathedral
Churches
and their
officers.

The church of the archbishop was called a Cathedral, from the ancient custom of having a chair placed there, on which the bishop sat as president or head of the subordinate ranks of clergy. The council or chapter of the bishop consisted of a dean and several prebendaries or canons, as they had been originally

proportion to the extent of these establishments. Though vast sums had been expended in multiplying churches, chapels, and altars, and there were chaplains and curates without number, and though the wealth derived from Church lands and teinds is un-

derstood to have amounted to much more than a third of the rental of Scotland, it is confessed, in the preface to the Catechism, to be even at that time a desideratum to have "ane sufficient number of Catholic and able preachers."—(*Separate MSS.*)

called. The prebendaries are said to have derived their name *a prębendo consilium episcopo*, or from the allowance which they received out of the rents of the Church. The superior officers of the *capitulum*, or *chapter*, were the dean, the archdeacon, the chanter, the chancellor, and the treasurer. The dean, *decanus*, was originally so named from being the chief of ten prebendaries, though that number was not uniformly retained. His dignity was nearly the same with what had at one time been denominated arch-presbyter, or the president of those who were in priest's orders. The archdeacon was the next in dignity. Originally he had been the superior of those who were in deacon's orders ; but his office became more important in subsequent ages. His duty was to examine the candidates for ordination before they were brought before the bishop, to grant them possession of their benefices, to hold visitations in absence of the bishop, and to take the inspection of the morals and diligence of the clergy. He was thus the bishop's substitute or vicar in a great number of his functions ; and for his assistance in giving instruction, and in watching over the other clergy, he had rural deans under him, who enjoyed a limited jurisdiction. So essential were the duties of the archdeacon conceived to be, that he was generally designed *alter episcopi oculus*. The chanter, or *primicerius*, presided in the choir, at the celebration of mass. The number of chorists in many of the churches was very great.

It is astonishing what vast sums were bequeathed by individuals for the celebration of masses in chapels or altars ; and contributions were also levied by public authority for the same superstitious purpose.

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Chaplain-
ries and
altarages
in St An-
drews.

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In this city, though never very populous, the chaplainries and altarages derived great revenues from the rents mortified out of almost every dwelling-house and every field in the neighbourhood. There were separate chaplains to every altar, and sometimes a single altar had a great number of chaplains. There were ten chaplains appointed to minister at the altar of the Holy Cross. There were at least twelve altars in the Trinity Church, or what is now the parish church of St Andrews, where thirty chaplains principal, and twelve choristers, regularly officiated in honour of St Andrew, so early as the year 1475 ; how many were added afterwards is not exactly known ; and how many more there were in the different chapels it would be equally difficult to ascertain. The following may serve as a specimen :—

Altar of The Holy Trinity.

... Our Lady, or the Blessed
 Virgin.
... Blessed Sacrament.
... Holy Blood.
... Holy Rood.
... All Saints.
... St Mary Magdalene.
... St Michael (Archangel).
... St John the Baptist.
... St John the Evangelist.
... St Thomas the Martyr.
... St Ninian the Bishop.

Altar of St Bartholomew the Apostle.

... St James (Apostle).
... St Catherine.
... St Columba.
... St Bridget.
... St Laurence.
... St Anne.
... St Fillan (Abbot).
... St Nicholas.
... St Andrew.
... St Barbara.
... The Blessed Mary of Piety.

I have enumerated twenty-four : but these are not all which might be mentioned in the town ; and I have said nothing of the cathedral or the priory.

Besides these, there was a considerable number of chanters and choristers, as well as chaplains, attached to the collegiate church or provostry of St Salvator ; and ten or twelve connected with the original institu-

tion of this college, which was annexed to the chapel of St John the Evangelist. In addition to the other burdens imposed for the support of these superstitious establishments, a contribution (of four pennies Scots) was exacted from every burgh and inhabitant for saying mass on high festival days; and the same charge was enforced by the magistrates for the support of the morning mass.

The chancellor of the chapter kept the seal, and acted as secretary, and the treasurer had the principal charge of the accounts.

The dean and chapter elected the bishop, and assisted him in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. It was a peculiarity of the see of St Andrews that the archbishop was elected by the prior and the convent.

I have now spoken of cathedral churches and their principal officers. Next in rank to them were the *præposituræ*, or *collegiate churches*, the government and regulations of which were similar to those of the cathedrals, with this difference, that the head of such an establishment was either a *dean* or a *provost*, or *præpositus*. There were thirty-three churches of this description in Scotland. The prebendaries, or canons, in most of them were six, eight, or ten; in some so few as three, and in others twelve or sixteen. The Chapel Royal of Stirling was the most opulent and magnificent of these establishments; but Roslin was incomparably finer as a piece of architecture. The collegiate church of St Giles, in Edinburgh, which was on a more extensive scale than any other church of the kind in this country, with the exception of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, supported a provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, and seven other officers,

Collegiate
Churches.

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on the original foundation, to which was superadded a vast number of altars and chaplainries, some of them richly endowed.^a There were two of these collegiate churches in St Andrews,—that of Kirkheugh, overlooking the harbour, called the provostry of the Blessed Mary of the Rock, one of the most ancient in the country, and the provostry or collegiate church of St Salvator, which, from its first foundation, was considered as a branch of the University. The president of this institution was called *Provost*, not, as you may sometimes hear, because he was regarded as a civil magistrate, but because he was the *præpositus* or head of the secular canons, for whose support the fruits of certain parishes were provided. These masters were called *Magistri canonici*; but their places were suppressed at the Restoration of Charles II., and there is nothing now corresponding to them in the present establishment.

All the collegiate churches had originally schools^β

^a [The religious houses connected with Edinburgh possessed much valuable property. The Black Friars had a very great rental. The Grey Friars had a magnificent establishment, which contained one of the most eminent schools of learning. Besides St Giles', the collegiate churches of the Holy Trinity (a later erection) and of St Mary-in-the-Fields each possessed a large complement of chaplains or prebendaries. The revenue of these several foundations arose in great part from lands, of which the Town Council held the superiorities as patrons of the prebends, chaplains, and other functionaries. (*Separate MSS.*)]

^β [I have often had occasion to remark, that the people of Scotland have for a long period been unduly reluctant to acknowledge the debt of

gratitude which they owe to the men who were first instrumental in imparting even to the lowest ranks of the population, the advantages of education. It is admitted, and with great justice and truth, that the Reformers contributed essentially to the general diffusion of sound knowledge. But who taught the Reformers themselves? Who instituted the schools in which Buchanan and Knox, Fergusson and Row, Wynram, and Willock, Alexander Arbuthnot, John Douglas, and the first John Spotswood, were so well instructed, as to be adequately prepared for entering on the higher studies pursued at the Universities? One at least of the number appears to have been taught in one of the schools of the canons regular—and another in a monastery of the White Friars,

connected with them, and probably, for this reason, the rents of several of them were granted.

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* * * * *

Intimately connected with the revenues of the Church is the system of church patronage.

System of
Church
Patronage.

In the earliest age of Christianity, the public teachers of religion were stationed in particular places, or were moved from time to time by the appointment of the apostles. While the world remained in an unconverted state, the people were incapable of choosing their own pastors; but as soon as Christian societies were duly organised,—in other words, as soon as churches were constituted, the whole body of the believers had a voice in the election of the ministers of the Word, and other spiritual rulers. We have an instance of the mode of proceeding in the appointment of the seven deacons, mentioned in the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. The person elected

The others, we know, were educated, one at the grammar school of Dumbarton, another at a similar school in Haddington, another at Stirling, another at Perth, others at Aberdeen or Montrose. These schools, in general, owed their origin and their principal support to clergymen of the Church of Rome. Some of the founders of the burgh schools are known to have imbibed views similar to those which were afterwards propagated by Luther and Melancthon. But we cannot say this of them all. It was no small matter, however, that they encouraged the cultivation of classical literature, and liberally furnished the means of having solid instruction imparted to those who were destined to the service of the Church. Thus, I remember, I was much gratified by discovering, nearly thirty years ago, that, in 1542, Sir David Bowman, a prebendary

of the collegiate church of St Mary, of Crail, gave an ample grant of lands and houses for establishing a school in that burgh, to be conducted by a succession of Masters of Arts, *qui docebunt pueros literas Latinas et non vulgares informando eos bonos honestosque mores*. This foundation, however, like very many others, was, in the course of half a century, rendered almost useless, and the intentions of the pious founder were frustrated, through the carelessness of the municipal authorities, on whom the patronage devolved, in allowing the houses to fall into ruin, and the lands to be alienated for the payment of annual sums, so insignificant that they were not worth the trouble of collecting.—(*Inaugural Address, University of Edinburgh*, 1846). See also Appendix, No. IV.]

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by the united suffrages of the congregation was set apart by the laying-on of the hands of the Presbytery. This method of admitting only such ecclesiastical functionaries as were chosen by the people, continued to be observed in the Church during the first two centuries of the Christian era. If any variation ever took place, it seems to have been merely this, that sometimes the nomination of the new office-bearers originated with the ministers of the Church ; but they did not proceed to ordination till the approbation of the people was unequivocally signified. At that early period the disinterestedness of the Church was universally acknowledged ; and it could never be doubted that the only motives which guided its decisions were the glory of Christ, and the benefit of his followers.

Its origin.

When the Church acquired a legal establishment in the Roman Empire, and when, instead of the voluntary contributions of the faithful, it was supported by a settled patrimony, competitions frequently arose among those who devoted themselves to this profession ; and it naturally happened that the men of the greatest wealth, at least those who applied the greatest share of their wealth to the support of the public charges of religion, had a greater influence in elections than persons of smaller consequence. In these cases, however, the nomination of a pastor, though perhaps indirectly brought about by an affluent individual, was never claimed as a right. When the decay of zeal occasioned an abatement of that torrent of wealth which had long flowed into the Church, a device was resorted to for the purpose of encouraging the rich to found and to endow new ecclesiastical establishments. The privilege of presenting to the benefice

was held out as a lure to him who would consecrate his superfluous wealth to this purpose ; and it cannot be doubted that many who would never otherwise have thought of such an application of their treasures, were thus induced to alienate part of their property for what was called a pious use. ^a Though vanity might have its share in producing such exertions of ostentatious bounty, self-interest was not always forgotten. In some instances the endowment might be expected at no great distance of time to be enjoyed by some branch of the family ; and even when there might be no such view, it was impossible to avoid perceiving that political importance was attached to the power of conferring an appointment for which there never failed to be numerous applicants. The decrees of councils and of popes, as well as the acts of civil legislators, confirmed and extended the original privileges of patrons, by securing to them the most honourable seats in their churches, and a right to have their names and arms inscribed on the walls, the bells, and chalices, and also to be regularly mentioned in the public prayers. They had also the entire disposal of the fruits of vacant benefices. If a patron was ever, by reverse of circumstances, reduced to poverty, the Church was bound to provide for his support out of its funds. No beneficed person could grant leases or feus without consent of his patron. By the canon law, if the patron did not present within the legal

^a "Patronum faciunt dos, ædificatio, fundus," say the writers on the canon law. The mere gift of the ground, or even the building of a church, was not universally admitted to give a right of presentation. But he who built, or even he who rebuilt a church, was entitled to become joint

patron with him who endowed it. After the church was consecrated, one could not acquire the right of patronage over it ; because that would have been an imposition of servitude upon a thing sacred, and therefore the patronage must be reserved to the donor (or endower) and his heirs.

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term of six months after the vacancy, or at least after it was known to him, his right for that time devolved on the bishop, and if he also failed to do his duty, the *jus devolutum* ascended to his immediate superior, and so on till it arrived at the pope. In this country, however, the law did not allow the *jus devolutum* to go to the pope, to the prejudice of the sovereign. It is obvious what the reasons were for providing that, if the patron neglected to present in due time, his right should devolve on another. Not only might the church have been injured by a long vacancy, but the fruits of the benefice might have been retained by the patron, and applied to improper purposes, or perhaps altogether dilapidated.

Some of those who founded or endowed churches renounced the claim of patronage, or reserved it only for a limited time, after which the church was said to be free. Others lost their right through proscription, after having long ceased to exercise it. When no other person could establish a right to the patronage, it was presumed to belong to the pope.

Patronages were either ecclesiastical or laic. The former belonged to churchmen in right of their ecclesiastical dignities or benefices. Laic patronages were such as belonged either to kings, or civil corporations, or private individuals, whether churchmen or laymen. By the canon law, a lay patron was allowed only four months for expediting the presentation, whereas an ecclesiastic might take six. If a laic patron presented an unqualified person, he might correct his error and make another choice; but an ecclesiastical patron presenting one who was unworthy, lost his right for that vice. The pope might prejudice an ecclesiastic, but not a laic patronage; and whenever there was any doubt,

Distinction
between ecclesiastical
and laic
patronages.

the patronage was presumed to be laic. Many lay patronages, however, became ecclesiastical, either by the original destination providing for the eventual transference, or by a subsequent disposition of lands, with the patronages annexed being granted to churchmen. No ecclesiastic patron could present himself to a benefice, and no patron whatever could present to a living before it became vacant. The pope, however, was in the habit of issuing bulls, authorising the grant of the reversions of benefices. These grants were named *Gratiæ expectativæ*, and were attended with the most baneful effects.

By the canon law a patronage could not be sold except with the lands to which it was annexed; and it was even conceived to be unjust to demand a higher price for the lands than they would have been worth without the patronage.

Many patrons of parish churches annexed them to cathedral or to collegiate churches. Similar grants were made to many of the monasteries. Most of these churches, which were under the patronage of cathedrals, provostries, abbeys, or other religious houses, were served by vicars; while the parsonages or rectories were retained by the prelates or the members of the collegiate body.

The original privilege claimed by patrons was merely to present within a given time a qualified nominee, to whom the Church was bound to grant collation. But many lay patrons insisted also upon the right of investiture, or admitting to the possession of the tithes and lands belonging to the living. This right of investiture was long challenged by emperors and kings in case of the election of bishops, whose title they did not admit to be valid till they had confirmed it. The

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mode in which the royal approbation was expressed was by the symbolical delivery of the crosier and the ring.

Abuses arising from the system of patronage.

It is easy to perceive what great abuses must have connected themselves with the system of patronage as practised in the churches holding of the Roman see. It opened a wide door to simony and corruption, which no laws were able to restrain. By putting the nomination to benefices into the hands of persons who were often distinguished rather for their vices and impieties than for sound principles and blameless lives, it diminished the respect which the Church had enjoyed in times of purity. And it induced the candidates for the ministry to recommend themselves to the notice of patrons by unworthy compliances, by servility and adulation, instead of maintaining that inviolable love of truth, that unshaken independence of character, and those conscientious and exalted views of the sacred nature of their engagements, which afford the best pledge of their fidelity and diligence in the exercise of the profession to which they are devoted. Indeed, the whole scheme of benefices was tainted with gross corruption; and almost the only obligation which was felt by the majority of beneficiaries, was that of supporting the influence of the Church and resisting every invasion of the powers which it arrogated.

Though patronage, from its very nature, and still more from the manner in which it was generally exercised, was always considered as a grievance by the great body of the people, there was something in the institution which was well calculated to prop up an unstable edifice, and to shelter from destruction an unholy priesthood. The Church was thus more closely incorporated with the civil government, by which it

was protected ; and men of wealth could not abandon its interests without exposing themselves to the hazard of sacrificing a right, which not only gave them distinction and pre-eminence but conferred some very substantial advantages. The greater benefices were, in almost every case, bestowed on the favourites of the court ; and those which were less valuable formed a convenient provision for needy relations and venal retainers. When there was no such tie to influence the distribution of patronage, a claim of gratitude might thus be constituted, of which the patron might afterwards avail himself ; and in conferring an obligation on one who had no ground to expect it, he might, in many cases, foresee that his pretended generosity would be repaid with usury. When ambition and avarice were thus linked with private friendship, it would have been wonderful indeed if men of unsteady principle could have resisted the temptation ; and loudly as this abuse called for a remedy, the very existence of it interposed an obstacle in the way of reformation.

I have dwelt the longer on the revenues of the Romish Church, and the mode in which preferments in it were attained, because these circumstances, which apparently cemented and upheld the fabric, were in reality secretly operating to overthrow it. For a season, the possession of immense wealth enabled its owners to ward off the assaults of its enemies and to purchase mercenary adherents ; and the interest of the laity who had the disposal of church promotions prevented them from seeking for a change, in consequence of which they might forfeit a most material privilege of their own. But, on the other hand, the wealth of the Church, dishonourably acquired, and often foolishly

And the amount and misapplication of ecclesiastical revenues, among the means of the Church's overthrow.

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squandered, tended at the same time to corrupt the whole sacerdotal order, while it excited the envy and withdrew the respect and confidence of all the rest of the world. Even those by whom the clergy were courted and caressed the most, employed them as the engines for effecting their own purposes, and longed for the time when they might seize their treasures. Their ruin was averted, however, rather by the blind superstition of the lower orders than by the sinister designs of bad governments, and no civil power in Europe could have subverted their establishments, if the diffusion of knowledge had not opened the minds of the people and unfolded the mystery of iniquity.

LECTURE III.

THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH BEFORE THE REFORMATION, AS, PROMULGATED IN ITS NATIONAL COUNCILS—PROVINCIAL COUNCILS OF 1242 AND 1269—CANONS OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH—COUNCIL OF 1549—KNOX'S OPINION OF ITS PROCEEDINGS—COUNCIL OF 1551—HAMILTON'S CATECHISM—REGULATIONS OF THE LAST PROVINCIAL COUNCIL IN SCOTLAND.

To prepare for understanding the peculiarities of the Church of Scotland after the Reformation, I have given some account of the state of the Church before that event, and I have likewise endeavoured to lay before you a general view of the various offices, the revenues and the establishments both of the regular and secular clergy. The lives and characters of the most remarkable individuals in the Church, before the Reformation, have been written by various authors; but there is another matter which has been too much overlooked by the majority of our historians, namely, the substance of the opinions professed by the collective body of the clergy, and the discipline prescribed in their national councils. It is the more necessary to attend to these particulars, because (as I have repeatedly mentioned) the Church of Scotland was long more independent of the Roman see than almost any of the Continental churches, and therefore, though we may be correctly acquainted with the tenets and practices

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Doctrines and discipline of the Church before the Reformation exhibited in the Canons of the Provincial Councils.

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III.

of Popery as received in foreign countries, we may still be very imperfectly informed with regard to the state of religion in Scotland. Lord Hailes, with laudable industry, has collected a variety of historical memoirs concerning the provincial councils of the Scottish clergy, and from his tracts and the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, by Dr Wilkins, I shall extract those particulars which appear most deserving of notice.

[The earlier councils of which we have any authentic notice were held under the authority of papal legates; but there was always extreme jealousy of such foreign interference on the part both of the clergy and the other estates, and frequently open resistance to the reception of legates from the Roman see. At length], in the year 1225, Honorius IV. issued a bull, in which he declared that many irregularities were committed in the Scottish Church, owing to the non-observance of the statutes of general councils, and desired that provincial councils should not be omitted. His object was to remind the Scottish prelates of his right of supremacy; but they chose to interpret it as authorising them to hold provincial councils whenever they judged it necessary, and accordingly they did often hold such councils in which the sanction of the Pope was dispensed with.

Provincial
Councils at
Perth in
1242,

The most important of all the provincial councils of the Scottish Church, and that to which I shall especially request your attention in the present Lecture, was holden at Perth without the assistance of a papal legate. The King himself attended, and the Bishop of St Andrews acted as president. It passed a number of canons, which, having been confirmed by the King and Parliament, continued in force as long as Popery was the national creed. This council sat in

1242. Nearly thirty years afterwards (in 1269) the Scottish clergy, who in the mean time had disregarded a summons of the papal legate to attend a council of their church in England, again themselves held a provincial council at Perth, in the presence of the King and nobles, and confirmed the canons they had formerly passed, at the same time making some additions to the number.

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and in
1269.

The canons of 1242 and 1269 are incorporated in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, and having been copied by the learned Thomas Ruddiman, were published by Wilkins in the first volume of his *Concilia Britannæ*. Lord Hailes denominates them "The Scottish Ecclesiastical Code," and expresses his conviction that they were never perused by any of the writers on our law. He considers them as having been well calculated to secure the independency of the Church of Scotland, and to operate fatally on the prerogative of the Papal See. Their chief interest to us, however, arises from the fact that they contain an authoritative exposition of the system of church discipline established in Scotland before the Reformation.

[Hailes' Annals, i. 180.]

Of these canons I now proceed to give you an abstract,—availing myself sometimes of the explanatory notes of Lord Hailes, an accurate and sagacious as well as laborious writer, who has established a high character for accuracy, and whose authority I respect, though I do not by any means regard it as infallible.

The canons, which are eighty-four in number, are preceded by the bull of Pope Honorius III., and by an order regulating the mode of proceeding. The bishops are directed to wear white hoods with solemn mitres and gloves, and to hold in their hands the pastoral staff. The abbots to wear surplices, hoods,

Canons of
1242 and
1269.

LECT. III. and mitres; the deans and archdeacons, surplices and hoods,—the other clergy to appear in becoming dresses. The deacon, accompanied by the subdeacon, was to read the Gospel, “I am the good shepherd,” &c.; and after the benediction, all the bishops were to kiss the book. After some other formalities a sermon was to be delivered, the names of the members were to be called, and the absentees to be punished.

(I.) The first canon, following the authority of St Gregory, declares, that as there are four books of the holy Gospel, so there are four general councils whose authority is to be venerated—namely, the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon: after the example of which, provincial councils ought to be convened annually in every catholic state; and accordingly it is unanimously ordained that all the bishops, abbots, and priors should assemble every year, upon the summons of the Conservator of the Council, to treat concerning such matters as regard the interest of the Church, and to consider what shall be necessary for its reformation and for the security of its liberties.

(II.) The second canon provides that year after year the bishops shall preach before the Council in rotation, and that one of the number shall be appointed Conservator of the Statutes, from one year to another, whose office shall entitle him to inflict ecclesiastical penalties on those who violate any of the ordinances and regulations of the Council.

Hailes’
Canons of
the Church
of Scotland,
(1769), p. 5.

Lord Hailes here remarks, that “in this canon every one must perceive the office and duty of the Moderator of the General Assembly. Our forefathers,” he adds, “at the Reformation were not disposed to condemn every statutory form approved by the ex-

perience of ages, merely because it happened to be *popish*." I do not say that the remark is unfounded. LECT.
III.
On the contrary, I cannot but acquiesce in the latter part of it, though I see no reason for supposing that the first General Assemblies borrowed the custom of electing a president from the provincial councils any more than from other courts; and whoever is acquainted with the constitution of our Church must know that the office of the Moderator differs in many respects from that of annual Conservator of the Statutes of the Council. It is, however, a very curious circumstance that the Scottish Church, three centuries before the Reformation, should have asserted the right of holding yearly General Assemblies.

The third canon requires all prelates of whatever (III.) order to hold fast the catholic and apostolic faith, and diligently to instruct all the subjects in its articles,—admonishing their parishioners to explain it to their children.

The fourth requires that the sacraments be devoutly (IV.) and reverentially solemnised, under the form delivered by the holy fathers and the Sacred Scriptures.

In the fifth, the churches and chancels are ordered (V.) to be furnished with all suitable ornaments, books, and utensils.

The sixth and seventh forbid the building of churches (VI.) without consent of the diocesan, or the performance (VII.) of divine service without his authority.

The eighth prohibits, under pain of suspension and (VIII.) interdict, the celebration of divine offices in any private or unconsecrated place, without license obtained from the bishop.

The ninth ordains that every parish church shall (IX.) have a rector or vicar of its own, who shall exercise

- LECT. III. the cure of souls, either by himself or by a sufficient minister with the license of the diocesan, and that all these persons shall lead a pure and honourable life, or subject themselves to the canonical penalties.
- (X.) The next canon requires, that as they who serve at the altar ought to live by the altar, all vicars shall receive adequate maintenance out of the rents of the churches, the free and clear portion of each, after deduction of all burdens, being at least ten merks, if there be sufficient means,—provided always that in the richer benefices greater allowances shall be assigned to the vicars. (About this time the minimum of salaries to the vicars in England was five merks, except in some parts of Wales, where they were required to be content with less. It appears from several documents that ten or twelve merks sterling was the usual provision in that age for the vicars in this part of the country).
- (XI.) The eleventh canon requires the clergy to wear decent apparel, and prohibits the use of red, or green, or striped clothes.
- (XII.) The twelfth canon is, that no rector or vicar shall, without the knowledge of the diocesan or his official, intrude himself into any ecclesiastical station.
- (XIII.) In the thirteenth it is ordained that every parish shall have a dwelling-house near the church, in which the bishop or archdeacon may be respectably accommodated, and that such mansion shall be built within the year at the joint expense of the parsons and their vicars, in just proportions; but the support of their fabrics shall be a burden upon the vicars, who enjoy the use and advantage of them.

“This shows,” says Lord Hailes, “by whom manses were built, and by whom supported, in the thirteenth century.” His lordship probably meant to suggest that it ought to be so still, but he might have recollected that the property of the Church was on a very different footing in the thirteenth century.

LECT.
III.
[Hailes’
Canons of
the Church
of Scotland,
p. 10.]

The four following canons provide that no new (XIV.) taxes shall be imposed on churches or their vicars, and that the old ones shall not be augmented ;

That no bishop admit clergymen from the diocese (XV.) of another bishop to holy orders without letters of recommendation from the ordinary or his official ;

That in every deanery certain prudent men shall (XVI.) be appointed confessors, to whom the inferior clergy may confess, who might be ashamed to confess to the deans ;

That no leases of church lands shall be granted (XVII.) for more than five years.

The eighteenth is more remarkable. It declares (XVIII.) that the beauty and order of the Church is polluted by the contagion of licentious passions, and that there is a necessity for executing the decretals of the Roman pontiffs on this head, lest the Church should be accused of conniving at such gross irregularities. It therefore ordains that all clerical persons, who publicly keep concubines, either in their own houses or in other houses, shall remove them entirely within a month, and shall not attempt to keep others in the places of those who are removed, under the penalty of being suspended from their office and benefices. The archdeacons and rural deans are required to make a strict search into all such cases as may be reported to them, and inviolably to observe this regulation.

No church property is to be alienated by rectors or (XIX.)

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III.

their vicars ; and all contracts in defiance of this statute are to be null and void.

(XX.)
(XXI.)

(XXII.)
(XXIII.)

The two next canons are curious They ordain that no clerical persons whatsoever, whose duty obliges them to attend to sacred matters, shall become agents or administrators of secular persons in any of their worldly affairs, lest they subject themselves to the cognisance of civil courts, to the great scandal and detriment of the Church. But if any shall presume in future to contravene this law, they shall be removed from their sacred function, because to the neglect of their peculiar duties they allow themselves to be overwhelmed with temporal cares. It is farther provided that beneficed persons shall not purchase houses or other lay possessions for their concubines and children, or furnish them with money for such purchases, or leave any property to them in their wills.

[Hailes'
Canons of
the Church
of Scotland,
p. 14.]

On the latter statute, Lord Hailes observes that the word *concubina* is not to be understood in the vulgar sense. He considers it, therefore, as a discouragement to matrimony, from forming which relation it was found scarcely possible to restrain the clergy of northern climates. With regard to the intermeddling in civil affairs, and undertaking secular employments, he remarks, that the thing was “specious in theory, but impracticable in execution.” It was more impracticable, perhaps, in those days than it has ever been since, for the clergy were almost the only persons who had much capacity for the management of complicated affairs. And we find that the most important and arduous stations were, with few exceptions, filled by the higher orders of them. At all events, this canon shows that the law prohibiting ministers to distract their attention with secular concerns, did not originate with the Reformers.

The twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth canons relate to interdicts and testaments. LECT.
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Three others are entitled *De immunitate ecclesiarum*. They ordain that persons taking refuge in a church shall be protected, unless they be notorious highway robbers, or those who are sacrilegious or excommunicated; also that all clergymen taking sanctuary shall be protected till, on account of the enormity of their crimes, they are degraded from their orders, after which they shall be committed to the prison of the diocesan (which every bishop is bound to have), and there to be “sustained on the bread of sorrow and the water of affliction.” (XXIV.)
(XXV.)
(XXVI.)
(XXVII.)
(XXVIII.)

No pleas of a secular nature shall be heard or discussed on the Lord’s Day or any of the solemn festivals. (XXIX.)

No person shall violate the liberties, immunities, or customs of the Church. In pursuance of this canon it is provided :— (XXX.)

That no clerical person shall bring another clergyman before a secular tribunal, under pain of excommunication. (XXXIII.)

The twelve following canons relate chiefly to tithes and first-fruits. (XXXIV.)
to
XLV.)

All who resist the lawful and canonical commands of their diocesans, archdeacons, and deans, shall be suspended in the first instance, and more severely punished in case of continued obstinacy. (XLVII.)

No *questionarii* are to be admitted to solicit contributions in any church, for the same object, oftener than once in one year. (XLVIII.)

All who subvert the liberty of the Church shall be excommunicated. (XLIX.)

The following descriptions of persons shall be

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(LII.)

excommunicated four times every year:—Incendiaries, violators of churches, usurers, fraudulent persons, diviners, receivers and encouragers of thieves and robbers, persons guilty of perjury and subornation, disturbers of the king's peace, and all who falsely accuse others of crimes inferring the punishment of death, or banishment, or confiscation. The fifty-second canon relates also to excommunication.

(LIII.)

A remarkable canon is entitled, *De pœna incestus clericorum* and is as follows:—"Si quis sacerdos cum filia sua spirituali fornicatus fuerit, sciat se grave adulterium commisisse; idcirco si fœmina laica sit, omnia derelinquat, et res suas pauperibus tribuat, et conversa in monasterio Deo usque ad mortem serviat. Non debet episcopus vel presbyter commisceri cum mulieribus, quæ eis confessæ sunt peccata; si fortè, quod absit, sic contigerit, sic pœniteat quomodo et de filia spirituali. Episcopus annis quindecim, presbyter annis duodecim, pœniteat, et deponatur tamen, si in conscientiam populi venerit."

(LIV.)

No sentence of excommunication is to be taken off through the influence, or at the mandate, of any secular power.

Most of the other canons relate to the sacraments of the Church.

(LV.)

Baptism is to be celebrated with the greatest reverence and caution. The ministers of religion are often to instruct their people on this subject, both in the Latin and the English tongue, and to show them that, in case of necessity, they may baptise their own children. The fonts shall be kept under lock and key, as well as the chrism, the holy oil, and the eucharist. If a child shall be baptised at home the water shall either be thrown into the fire, or brought to the church

and poured into the baptistery. The vessel also which contained the water shall either be burnt or applied to the uses of the Church. When the previous baptism of a child was doubtful, the priest was to use the form which is still employed on these occasions in the episcopalian churches, and which you can see in the Book of Common Prayer. In the case of lay baptism, the priest shall supply what was wanting when the infant is brought to the door of the church, by adding salt, by touching the ears and nostrils with saliva, and by pronouncing the form of exorcism, without repeating the immersion or the consecration of the water. Three persons at the utmost may be admitted to receive the child from the font. In the case of a male child, two men and one woman, and in case of a female, two women and one man. A greater number may be admitted as witnesses, but not as sponsors. Women are to be earnestly admonished to be careful in nursing their children, to avoid the danger of overlaying them in the night, and on no account to leave them alone in a house where there is a fire, or alone exposed to the risk of falling into the water. This caution was to be repeated every Lord's Day. It was a humane and prudent injunction, and much more worthy of a place in the book of canons than the greater part of the formalities which were required to be so scrupulously observed.

The sacrament of Confirmation was deemed a (LVI.) greater and more solemn ordinance than baptism, as being conferred by a bishop, whereas baptism is celebrated by a priest. Adult persons were to confess before confirmation.

The sacrament of Penance is next treated of. The (LVII.) priest is to consider the quality of the person, the

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degrees of the offence, the time, place, occasion, and other circumstances attending it, and the marks of contrition and devotion. He is to listen to the confession with an humble countenance, with his eyes cast down to the earth ; he is not to look in the face of the penitent, particularly if a female, but to hear patiently and in the spirit of meekness, and occasionally to urge a full and free declaration of guilt. He shall not ask the names of other persons with whom guilt has been contracted ; but he may ask whether the other party be laical or clerical,—whether a priest, or a deacon, or a monk. All persons are to be admonished to confess in the beginning of Lent. Priests are to beware of betraying offenders, by words or by any other indications, and in cases of doubt they must consult the bishop or other prudent persons. (The sacrament of Penance was at first retained in the Lutheran Church. The impression of its importance has not yet been fully erased from the minds of the people of this country, who conceive that on making what they call public satisfaction for scandals, they really enjoy an invaluable privilege.)

(LVIII.
to
LX.)

The Eucharist is to be administered with the greatest reverence and devotion. The priests are to be most careful in providing the materials of the sacrament in the most perfect manner. The canonical words must be pronounced with the utmost distinctness, gravity, and fluency, without the smallest approach to stammering or hesitation. The other regulations concerning the celebration of mass, the preservation of the eucharist, and the visitation of the sick, are all of the same nature with what has been now mentioned. Not a word is said of the inward dispositions of the communicants—not a word of self-

examination, which the Scripture declares to be indispensable. The external decorum, the purification of the cups and platters, the burning of wax tapers, the ringing of bells, the metal of which the vessels are made (silver or tin), the precise moment of elevating the host, and a great number of other minute attentions, are prescribed with amazing accuracy ; but the preparation of the heart is altogether overlooked. The reasonable service which ought to be rendered in spirit and in truth is never so much as hinted at, nor that love to God the Saviour, in absence of which instrumental institutions of religion are but “as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.”

On Extreme Unction the regulations are few, and (LXI.) not particularly worthy of our attention.

The title *De vita et honestate clericorum* precedes (LXII.) a long article. The clergy are to live chastely and continently, avoiding drunkenness, gluttony, and all immoderate indulgences,—keeping out of taverns, except when on a journey, and declining all unbecoming secular occupations. They must be particularly careful to be dressed canonically. They must have in every church a silver chalice and other proper vessels, all of which, as well as their vestments, must be kept neat and clean.

The sacrament of Matrimony is to be celebrated (LXV.) by the priest in the presence of three or four respectable witnesses. No persons are to be joined in marriage till after having been three times solemnly and publicly proclaimed in church. Marriage is forbidden within the fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity.

In the visitation of the sick, the priest is particularly (LXVI.) to remind them, that if they have any bequests

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to make, they ought, according to their abilities, particularly to bear in mind the fabric of the cathedral church, from which all the parish churches derive the privilege of dispensing the means of salvation.

(LXXVI.) It is further ordered in one of the canons that priests shall on no account exact any oblation before administering the eucharist. It is stated that this shameful practice had not been unknown ; but it is declared to be impious, and is prohibited under the pain of the divine judgments.

Form of
Excommu-
nication.

To the canons of the Scottish Church is subjoined a solemn form of excommunication, which is certainly a model of that species of composition. It proceeds thus : “ By authority of the Almighty God, and Son, and Holy Spirit, and of Mary the mother of God, and of St Michael the archangel, and of all the angels and archangels, and of St John the Baptist, and of all the patriarchs and prophets, and holy apostles and evangelists, of the innocents, martyrs and confessors, and of the virgins and heavenly powers, and of the holy canons, and of our ministry, we excommunicate, damn, anathematise, and remove from the bounds of the Church, all conspirators against their bishops, or those who, consenting to their conspiracies, become schismatics and infamous. We excommunicate all who, in matrimonial causes, bear false witness,—all who disturb the peace of the king and kingdom,—all who from base motives impute crimes to others,—all who unjustly withhold their tithes, or obstruct the rectors, vicars, or their factors in the collection of tithes,—all usurers, robbers, incendiaries, and disturbers of the liberties and immunities of the Church,—all invaders and spoilers of the goods of churchmen (and several other classes of criminals). Let all the

above persons be accursed, both inwardly and outwardly, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, with Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive ; let their days be few, and let others receive their possessions ; let their children be orphans ; and, as this lamp is now quenched, so let their lights be put out before Him who liveth for ever and ever, and let their souls be sunk into infernal perdition, unless they repent and come to amendment. So let it be. Amen."

These horrible maledictions were certainly not an invention of this national church ; but as they were repeated four times every year, they were probably as little regarded as the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed are by the greater part of the members of the Church of England, by whom it is recited so frequently (thirteen times in the year at least) that the impression passes away as a tale that is told. It cannot be doubted that the frequency of these cursings and comminations proved the occasion of rendering the terms of execration and adjuration too familiar, and thus encouraging the irreligious and pernicious habit of profaning the name of God. Several Acts of Parliament ordained letters of caption to be issued against all persons who subjected themselves to these heavy censures ; and if they were fugitive, their lands and goods might be distrained by the party at whose instance the excommunication had proceeded.

Such were the principal canons of the Scottish Church. They were of a mixed character,—some of them commendable and beneficial, but a very great number of them absolutely frivolous. The form of godliness was abundantly fair ; but its power, its spirit, its life, its very essence, may be said to have been

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almost utterly unknown. The abuses were not so glaring as in many other countries. On that very account, however, men submitted with the greater listlessness and patience to what, if not palpably and in the highest degree offensive, was altogether insufficient to make them wise to salvation, or to furnish them thoroughly to all good works.

Provincial
Council of
1549.

The next provincial council of which I shall take notice is that which was convened in the year 1549, a few years before the Reformation. It sat down at Linlithgow, and adjourned to Edinburgh. The members were the archbishop John Hamilton, six bishops, two vicars-general, ten abbots and priors, three commendators, twenty-seven friars, and several doctors and licentiates in divinity. The object of this council was to restrain the growth of heresy ; and in execution of this intention, it sets out with declaring that the two principal causes of heresy at that time were, 1st, The corruption of morals and profane licentiousness of life which pervaded all the orders of churchmen ; and, 2d, Their gross ignorance of useful learning, and all the liberal arts.

Fifty-seven regulations were prescribed for putting an end to these evils, and it is supposed by Lord Hailes that if these laws had been made and observed some years sooner, the progress of the Reformation might have been checked. If this be true, it is matter of rejoicing that the canons of 1549 were, as Lord Hailes says, “ too late ; ” for, according to all human probability, the delay of a very few years would have been fatal to the cause of reformation. The great men who were the chief actors in that most memorable and glorious undertaking were incomparably better qualified for their arduous work than any who

[Historical
Memorials,
p. 30.]

came after them ; and if the Church of Scotland had been no more improved by the canons of provincial councils than the Continental churches were by the labours of the Council of Trent at the same period, it would have been very little better than before, though it might have exhibited a fairer aspect.

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Lord Hailes is very much dissatisfied with Knox for speaking slightly of the acts and deliberations of this council. Knox may have been inaccurate in some parts of his statement ; but if he was, it ought to be ascribed to misconception, and not to the intention of deceiving. He says very properly and truly, that “among their acts there was much ado for caps, shaven crowns, tippets, long gowns, and such other trifles.” Lord Hailes cannot deny that this account is well founded ; but he says that these are not trifles, as they seemed at first sight even to himself, though, upon examination, he found them to be necessary regulations. Now, the only grave reason assigned for the tonsures is, that clerical persons might be distinguished from the laity. With regard to their garments, it was recommended to the prelates and other clergy, rather to wear woollen cloth of a becoming colour than dresses made of silk. This might also be intended as a mark of distinction, which seems previously to have been little regarded,—for it is certain that the priests had vied with the nobility in the gaudiness of their apparel, decking themselves out in scarlet, and crimson, and ermine, and sometimes in the particoloured fabric which is known by the name of tartan. It was, perhaps, thought that peculiarity of dress would have the effect of deterring the clergy from yielding to some temptations against which they would not be so much on their guard, if they hoped

[Historical
Memorials,
p. 31, note.
Knox,
Hist., p.
110.]

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[General
Assembly,
August
1575.
Booke of
the Univer-
sal Kirk,
(Bann. ed.),
335. Acts
of Assem-
bly 1646,
Sess. 10.]

to escape being recognised. It is somewhat curious that a few years after the Reformation, the General Assembly ordained that ministers should, on no account, wear silks, velvets, fringes, or any embroideries, or ornaments, or showy colours ; and the same prohibition extended to their wives. This law was revived in the time of the Covenanters, who were probably not aware that the council over which the popish Archbishop Hamilton presided had given a strong recommendation to the same effect. It certainly was not by such statutes that the ruins of the Church could be repaired.

1551.
Council at
Edinburgh.

A council holden two years afterwards (1551) was not attended with greater success. It renewed the canons of the former council, and added several others, which are worthy of notice only in so far as they show, from the testimony of the Roman Catholics themselves, what was the state of the country at that time in respect of religious knowledge and practice. It is evident that the people in general had lost all respect for their spiritual guides, and all reverence for the accustomed forms of devotion,—that in the most populous parishes the churches were almost deserted,—that those who did attend manifested their contempt by ridiculing the officiating priests, or by transacting their civil business in the very time of mass. One of the canons relates to Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, as it is called.^a This book is now much better

Archbishop
Hamilton's
Catechism.

^a ["The Catechisme, that is to say, mat of ye Kirk of Scotland, in his
ane comone and catholik instructioun provincial counsale, haldin at Edin-
of the Christin people in materis of burgh the xxvi day of Januarie, the
our Catholik faith and religioun, quhilk zeir of our Lord 1551, with the advise
na gud Christin man or woman suld and counsale of the bischoippes and
misknaw ; set furth be ye maist reve- uthir prelati with doctours of theo-
rend father in God, John, Archbisshop logie and canon law of the said realme
of Sanct Androuis, Legatuait and Pri of Scotland present for the tyme.]

known than it was some years ago. Keith, in his *History*, following Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers* and Archbishop Spotswood's printed work, had given some account of it^a which was far from being accurate. I refer you to Lord Hailes for a correction of the mistakes of these writers, by whom the public had long been misled, and every one of whom had a strong leaning in favour of the Catholics, and equally strong prejudices against the Reformers. Dr Cook, certainly, in his *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, dissents from Lord Hailes' conclusions, and is disposed to prefer the view of the book given by Spotswood, Mackenzie, and Keith. The authorities referred to by Dr Cook are not, in my opinion, entitled to much credit : and Lord Hailes is unquestionably justified in affirming that there is no evidence that the book was written by the Archbishop ; that, instead of avoiding the controverted points, it has entered into the con-

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[Keith, p. 63, *note*.
Hailes' Hist. Mem., p. 35, *note*.
Cook's Reformation, i. 363, &c.]

^a ["This Catechism, as it is indeed called on the title-page, consists of 205 leaves in a small 4to. It is printed at St Andrews, the 29th of August 1552, by the command and at the expense of Archbishop Hamilton, whose composition it is commonly reckoned to be. The preface bears his name, and is directed principally to all the clergy, who are appointed to read it in place of sermon, if there be none at the time. It is a judicious commentary upon the Commands, Beliefs, Lord's Prayer, Magnificat, Ave Maria ; and the author shows both his wisdom and moderation in handsomely eviting to enter upon the controverted points. In a word, no divine at this day need be ashamed of such a work. Therefore, since it was commonly sold for twopence, and called in derision the *twopenny faith*, as Archbishop Spotswood and other of our historians in-

form us, I readily assent to Dr Mackenzie, that Archbishop Hamilton, having been at the charges of the printing, allowed the pedlars to take only twopence (not shillings) Scots, for each copy of it from the people, as a fee for their pains in distributing it. It appears that whoever slighted this book have been resolved to slight everything that should come from such a hand ; and this composure, though there were none else, shows that all the clergy in those days have not been such dunces as some people would make us apprehend. The book is yet extant, and speaks for itself. Mr Knox and Mr Buchanan mention a Twopenny Faith in 1558. Perhaps Archbishop Spotswood takes one thing for another : if so, that reconciles the difficulty concerning the value of the Catechism." KEITH'S *History*, p. 63, *note*.]

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sideration of those which were most offensive to the Reformers, such as the doctrine of transubstantiation, and all the questions relating to the seven sacraments; that it was not intended for the perusal of the common people, though it was meant to be read to them, according to the discretion of the clergy, on Sundays and holidays; and that it was not the book known under the name of the *twopenny faith*.

Another very remarkable subject of discussion in this council (according to Spotswood) was the propriety of addressing the Lord's Prayer to the saints.^a

[The last of the Scottish provincial councils, though it might be more properly noticed in the next Lecture, may, for the sake of connection, be referred to by anticipation in this place. It was held at Edinburgh in March 1558, and continued until April 1559. Notwithstanding the circumstances in which

Last Provincial Council in Scotland, 1558-9.
[Hailes' Hist. Mem., p. 40.]

^a In his account of the origin of the controversy, Spotswood affords us an instance of his inaccuracy in matters of fact. He relates that one Richard Marshall, prior of the Blackfriars at Newcastle, had been at St Andrews, and had asserted in a sermon that the Pater-noster should be addressed only to God; and that another friar, whom he calls Tottes (he must mean Cotes, the guardian of the Franciscans), was employed by the doctors of the University to confute this doctrine, and to prove that the prayer was not less applicable to the saints. The story must have been obtained from tradition, but it is rather too extravagant to be credited. Richard Marshall, an Englishman, was certainly a celebrated preacher; but to talk of him as having been in St Andrews on a particular occasion, must appear very absurd to those who know that he was then a professor in

St Andrews, and continued to be so for many years. That he moved the indignation of the University is very unlikely, as they continued annually to give the highest proof of their confidence and respect by choosing him to one of their most responsible offices. That he ever supported a doctrine which Archbishop Hamilton or his clergy disapproved, cannot be true; as Hamilton, on enlarging and completing the establishment of the new College in 1552, manifested his regard to him by nominating him to the place of second principal master, which he filled a number of years with great applause. That a Franciscan or Greyfriar should publicly controvert the assertions of a Dominican, or Blackfriar, is probable enough; but that an alien should be employed by the University to confute the doctrine of one of its own members, would have been contrary to all academical rule.

it assembled, the proceedings of this council were so little influenced by the progress of the new opinions, that they may, on the whole, be accepted as illustrations of the popish system in the most corrupt times. In reply to the Preliminary Articles of Reformation offered by the Congregation (as the Reformers were then called), it declared, amongst other things, that the use of any language but Latin in the public prayers, or administration of the sacraments, was contrary to the traditions and practices of the Catholic Church, and could not be granted without impiety towards God, and disobedience to the Church.^a It also promulgated thirty-three canons, which, though in some of them concessions were made to the spirit of the age, for the most part but renewed the laws of former councils, even restating many of the most obnoxious of the tenets which were regarded by the

^a [I am not very sure that the unqualified reprobation with which Protestants always speak of the papal order, to use the Latin tongue exclusively in the offices of religion, may not be somewhat unreasonable. For a long period, Latin was commonly spoken, or at least understood, not only throughout the European portion of the Roman Empire, but even in Africa, as we learn from St Augustin, who says that he acquired the language by hearing it spoken by his nurses. At that time, the use of Latin in the public offices of devotion was not much more objectionable than the use of the English liturgy in many of the churches in some of the provinces of England, where the dialect peculiar to one county is scarcely intelligible in the other. Originally, too, it might be rationally considered a beneficial object to preserve the parent

language in a state of as great purity as possible, and there was no other standard of grammatical and perspicuous speech except the Latin, which did not differ more from most of the national dialects in the Western Empire than the language of our translation of the Bible differs from the current speech of Somersetshire, and other counties in England, not one hundred miles distant from the metropolis. From the moment that Latin was discontinued as a living language, the use of books was almost forgotten by the laity. Ignorance, indeed, became universal. In the ninth century not one clergyman in a thousand, in France, could write a common letter; and at the accession of Alfred to the English throne, not one priest in the most cultivated part of England understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother tongue.]

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Reformers as the capital errors of the Church of Rome.

For example, with the view of preserving uniformity in doctrine, the sixteenth canon enumerates the following as the great doctrines to be believed and taught :—

1. Tradition ; 2. Invocation of Saints ; 3. The right use of images ; 4. Purgatory ; 5. Transubstantiation ; 6. Communion in one kind by the laity ; 7. Profit of the sacrifice of the Mass ; 8. Regular ordination for the ministering of the sacraments.]

My object in the Lectures which follow will be to lay before you a view of the doctrine, worship, and discipline of the Church of Scotland, with an account of the principal persons who contributed to its formation, and the events by which its prosperity has been affected.

LECTURE IV.

REGENCY OF THE EARL OF ARRAN—ACT OF 1542 FOR READING THE BIBLE IN THE VULGAR TONGUE—ASSASSINATION OF CARDINAL BETON—JOHN ROUGH AND JOHN KNOX—KNOX'S CHARACTER—HIS FIRST SERMON IN ST ANDREWS—STRONG IMPRESSION PRODUCED BY IT—KNOX AND ROUGH CALLED BEFORE WYNRAM—OTHER MEANS OF RESISTANCE ADOPTED BY THE CATHOLICS—SIEGE OF ST ANDREWS CASTLE—KNOX A PRISONER ON BOARD THE FRENCH GALLEYS—CONDEMNATION OF ADAM WALLACE—WILLIAM HARLAW AND JOHN WILLOCK—KNOX RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—CALLED TO GENEVA—HIS "APPELLATION"—ST MARY'S COLLEGE, ST ANDREWS, EXTENDED BY ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION—THE CONGREGATION—THE REFORMATION ESTABLISHED IN SCOTLAND.

It is certain that, though the adherents of Popery did for a time make a show of supporting their declining cause by such arts of debate as they had learned to practise, they were all along convinced that they must trust to other means for suppressing the tendency to innovation which manifested itself in all the more civilised districts of the country. So long as they had influence with the Court and with the most powerful of the nobility, they had little apprehension that the tumults of the people would ever become so formidable as to endanger the stability of their interests. Their spies and agents, everywhere dispersed, never lost time in making known to them all the symptoms of dis-

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1542.

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affection ; and the expeditious processes of their inquisitorial courts cut off all the most active and zealous witnesses for the cause of reformation as soon as they could secure their persons.

Act for
allowing
the reading
of the
Scriptures
in the vulgar
tongue.

[Keith, 37.
Act. Parl.
Scot. ii.
415.]

The infamous Cardinal Beton, nephew of Archbishop James Beton, and his successor in the See of St Andrews, was the most active in promoting these sanguinary measures. I formerly mentioned the first of his exploits—the condemnation of Sir John Borthwick. The death of James V., and the appointment of the Earl of Arran to the regency of the kingdom, interrupted the execution of his designs. In spite of his influence with the queen-mother, a committee of the Estates of Parliament passed a law authorising the reading of the English version of the Scriptures. This permission could not be agreeable to the clergy, who had so very lately condemned a man of rank for having in his possession a translation of the New Testament, and accordingly the Archbishop of Glasgow, for himself and in name of all the prelates of the realm, dissented *simpliciter*, and craved delay till a council of the clergy should determine on the necessity of a translation of the Scriptures. Beton would no doubt have acted this conspicuous part of protesting against the measure, if he had been présent ; but he had been committed to prison during the sitting of Parliament. The Regent immediately sent forth a proclamation, informing the subjects that they were at liberty to read “the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, with certain additions.”^a The bill presented to Parliament had pro-

^a [The act for reading the Bible in English was first printed at length in the preface to the *Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler, Edinburgh,*

for James M'Euen and George Stewart, Booksellers, 1720. The editor refers to the Records of the Parliament, James V. and Queen Mary, fol. 79.

posed to allow the reading of the Scriptures, both New Testament and Old ; but, for some reason not taken notice of by any of our historians (who seem to have overlooked the difference between the bill and the proclamation), the act had not been passed in its original form.

The subsequent defection of Arran, and his co-

Assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

In Sadler's first letter, he states, that in Scotland "the Gospel is now set forth in English, and open proclamation made that it shall be lafull to all men to read the Bible and Testament in the mother tongue," &c. (p. 87). Sadler, on the 1st of April 1543, writing to the Privy Council of England, stated, that "the governor desired him to write into England for some books of the New Testament and Bibles in English," &c. "And," he adds, "if it may please your Lordships to take order for the accomplishment of his desire in that part, surely it will be very acceptable unto him." In his letter to Henry VIII., April 9, 1543 (p. 147) he says : "Concerning the special points which your Majesty's pleasure is I should communicate with the governor here, in such sort as is expressed in your Highness, said letters : in the first point, I find him in such terms as your Majesty would have him for the setting forth of the Scripture ; wherein he saith he hath taken such direction for the admonishing of his people to read it sincerely and quietly to themselves for their own knowledge, without taking on them any sinister or rash interpretations of the same, as by the Act of Parliament made here in that behalf, he told me, is fully set forth, with the banishment of all other English books saving the mere Scripture, being also of the best and truest translation."—(See pages 83 and 128 of the quarto edition). The Act and Protest published in Mr Thom-

son's edition of the Acts of Parliament, have been transcribed from originals in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton.

The enactment is expressly mentioned by Knox, who says, "that the Commissioners of Burghis, and a pairt of the nobilitie," required it to be made, but that the clergy did not yield till they were "convicted be reasonis, and be multitude of votis in thair contrair ; and so by Act of Parliament it was maid free to all men and women to reid the Scriptures in their awin tongue, or in the Inglische tongue." That, in consequence, the Bible was read to a great extent in Scotland, we are further assured by the same authority. Knox says—"This (the freedom of reading the Scriptures) was na small victorie of Christ Jesus, fechtin agains the conjured enemies of his veritie ; not small comfort to sic as befor war haldin in sic bondage, that they durst not have red the Lord's prayer, the ten commandmentis, nor articles of their faith in the Inglische tongue, bot they sould have been accused of heresie. Then mycht have been seen the Bybill lying upon almaist every gentlemannis table. The New Testament was born about in mony menis hands."—*Knox's History*, p. 34. (*Mem. for Bib. Soc. and additional Mem.* For the unexplained terms of the warrant for the proclamation as referred to above, see Keith, p. 37, and Mr Thomson's *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. p. 415)].

LECT.
IV.1546.
May 29.

alition with Beton, clouded the prospects of the Reformers ; but the short dawn of light which they had enjoyed under the authority of the State made them the more determined to resist every attempt to involve them again in the horrors of superstitious darkness. The Cardinal, being once more let loose to accomplish his bloody designs, directed the heaviest weight of his severity against those heretics who had belonged to the religious orders, or who were most distinguished by their intelligence. The fate of George Wishart, a most amiable and pious preacher, who was burnt before the Castle of St Andrews, is well known to have provoked the vengeance of those daring men who a few days afterwards assassinated the Cardinal.

John
Rough
and John
Knox.

The conspirators (twelve in number) kept possession of the castle, and were joined by about one hundred and forty more, one of whom was John Rough, formerly one of the Regent's chaplains, but now particularly obnoxious to the recently appointed archbishop, James Hamilton, who was a natural son of the Regent's father. Rough was in the habit of coming forth frequently and preaching in the town, where his sermons made a great impression. John Annand, one of the prebendaries of the cathedral, and a distinguished member of the university,^a wrote and spoke violently in opposition to this vigorous and fearless preacher. But the Protestants at this time acquired a new

^a [Annand became Principal of St Leonard's College in 1544. In the year 1545, in a number of leases preserved in an old register, he is named "Dayne Jhone Annand, Channone regular of ye Abbay of St Andrs., and Maister Princ. of St Leonard's College." (He must have ceased to be Principal before 1550, when John

Law, "Collegii Leonardini Primarius" succeeded Thomas Cunningham in that office.) In 1541, his name, as "Canon of St Andrews," occurs in the following curious absolution :— "Absolutio Magri Davidis Gould regentis in Coll. Leonard. ac bachal. in Theol. (divinis literis) ab omni hærescos aut erroneæ doctrinæ suspicione

champion, more ardent, more resolute, more intrepid, and more inflexible than any who had ever yet taken up arms against the See of Rome. This was John Knox, who had been degraded from priest's orders for joining the Reformers, and who was now employed as tutor in a family. Having been indebted chiefly to the instructions of George Wishart for the rectification of his views, he could not refrain from mourning over the martyrdom of that holy man ; and being apprised of a purpose which was meditated against his life, he took refuge in the Castle of St Andrews, where he continued to superintend the education of his pupils, and to improve his own mind by his intercourse with Rough.

He was at this time forty-two years of age ; and as his retired life had prevented him hitherto from mixing much in the affairs of the world, he could not be supposed to have formed those active habits, or to have acquired the address and knowledge of mankind, which are so necessary for a leader who must contend with expert and powerful and cunning adversaries. But the boldness and vivacity of his mind, the penetration of his judgment, and, above all, his invincible sense of duty, supplied the defects of his education, and gave an energy and decision to his measures which, under the direction of Providence, insured their ultimate success. He was not one of those wily intriguers who, for the sake of forwarding the views which they dare not avow, will make concessions which

Character
of Knox.

quamque id ei objectum a quibusdam fuerat. Absolvitur per Mag. Joannem Mair Decan. fac. Theol. et præfect. Coll. S. Salv. Thomam Barclay, Rectorem Universitatis. Martinum Balfour, officialem. Joannem Wynram Suppriorem. Alex. Young, Canonicum. Joannem Annand, Canonicum S. Andreae. Richardum Hylzer-

dum Theologiæ professorum, qui addit nomini, Fatetur se audivisse præfat. Mag. Davidem Catholice declarantem hanc propositionem, 'Deus genuit alium Deum, coram facultate theologica.' Joannem Duncansoun, canonicum S. Andreae, &c. ult. Dec. 1541." —(*MS. Records of University of St Andrews*).

LECT.
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they inwardly disapprove, and lend their aid to measures which, however inconsistent with their own sentiments, will at least have the indirect effect of increasing their power by engaging the support of persons who might be estranged by opposition. He was incapable of all shifts and evasions, of all compromises and subterfuges, of all those underhand dealings and hidden courses to which an honest and independent mind will disdain to stoop. He would not truckle to the mighty, or flatter the vain, or accommodate himself to the humours of that numerous class which he denominated "the rascal multitude," though he had been assured that by such compliances he would gain his point. Such crooked policy, which always bespeaks littleness of mind, he scorned and detested; and while his erect soul felt strongly and thought freely and resolved manfully, he looked straight forward to the object of his desires; he boldly took the ground from which he would not be dislodged, and without turning to the right hand or the left, without shrinking from danger or being allured by ambition, he stood unmoved by the assaults of envy, malevolence, and detraction; and in the full possession of his integrity and of his fame (which has never been sullied except by ignorance or calumny) he triumphed finally over all opposition, and raised to himself a monument of glory to which his countrymen ought ever to look as to the memorial of their emancipation from spiritual bondage. The merits of this great man have been long underrated; and though late writers have been disposed to do him justice, there is still a manifest unwillingness to admit that the principles which he maintained were really favourable either to the rights of conscience or to civil liberty.

He is supposed to have retained the same desire to dictate to the understandings of men, and to punish every deviation from the standards of orthodoxy which he thought were founded on the Word of God,—the same dogmatism and the same intolerance which had long rendered the yoke of Popery an insufferable grievance. A better opportunity will occur hereafter for discussing this charge against the chief of the Scottish Reformers.

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St Andrews was the first scene of Knox's ministry as a Protestant divine. While Annand, the antagonist of Rough, was exalting the authority of the Church, and to his own entire satisfaction refuting all the objections of the heretics, who were not in general much versed in the sophistical subtleties of the schools, John Rough, conscious of his own deficiency in literature, and having entire confidence in the clearness and precision of Knox's views, as well as the steadfastness and integrity of his heart, most earnestly exhorted him to undertake the ministerial duties. He yielded at last to his solicitations and to the urgent invitation of the people; and when Annand was one day exulting in having produced arguments which were not easily comprehended, and which accordingly were not easily answered, John Knox stood up and pledged himself to prove by word or by writing, that the Roman Church was farther degenerate from the purity of the age of the apostles than the Church of the Jews had departed from the ordinances of Moses when they put our Saviour to death. On the following Sunday he came to the parish church to make good his charge, and having been admitted to the pulpit, he preached a sermon, taking for his text the 24th and 25th verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel: "He shall speak

Knox's first
sermon in
St Andrews.

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great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws : and they shall be given into his hand, until a time and times, and the dividing of time.” In this discourse he manifested consummate knowledge of the Scriptures, and an intimate acquaintance with ancient history, and proved by the lives, the doctrines, and the institutions of the successive popes, that they were, in fact, the power mentioned in his text, the Man of Sin, the Antichrist, to whom so many predictions in the Scripture relate. He concluded by assuring his hearers, that if any one doubted the genuineness of his testimonies, or the correctness of his quotations, he was ready to give them an opportunity of judging for themselves, by showing them all the passages which he had brought under their notice.

This first appearance of Knox as a reforming preacher produced a strong impression. Those who went before him had made conscience of speaking the truth ; and what they advanced they would not retract, either from the fear of death or from the hope of preferment. But they had been too superficial. They attacked the most glaring errors of the anti-christian priesthood, they exposed their impudent impostures, and declaimed against the worthlessness of their lives and the futility of many of their observances. But if they had succeeded in their endeavours, they would have healed the wound of religion slightly. The amendment at which they aimed would not have been much more complete than that which the provincial councils professed to have in view. Priests might for a time have been more sober ; indulgences might not have been openly sold ; and preaching of

the Word might not have been neglected. But if men's minds had been quieted by this incomplete and unsound reformation, the root of bitterness would soon have sent forth new and vigorous shoots ; and so long as the inward principle was unchanged, so long as the supremacy of the Pope, or at least of the general councils, was not disowned, so long as any essential part of the system of corruption was retained—means would have been taken to detain the people under that degrading servitude to which they had so long submitted. But Knox was not satisfied with a partial change. He proclaimed the whole scheme of Popery to be irrational and antichristian—inconsistent with the Scriptures and with common sense ; and he defied all the disputants of the Scottish Church to shake the positions which he maintained. What methods were taken to counteract his labours we shall see immediately ; after which we shall be ready to enter fully into the consideration of the leading principles and views of the Reformers.

The sensation produced by the first sermon of John Knox was not suffered to vanish. The clergy took the alarm, and communicated their fears to John Hamilton, who had not yet begun to exercise the archiepiscopal functions. He wrote a letter to Wynram, sub-prior of the Augustinian convent, who, during the vacancy of the metropolitan see, acted as vicar-general ; and he expressed his surprise and displeasure at the passiveness with which such perilous heresies had been allowed to be propagated on the very spot where the vigilance of the Church might have been expected to be unremitting. Wynram's private sentiments were favourable to the Reformation, but, from some motive unknown to all historians, he thought fit

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John Wynram.

See Appendix,
No. V.

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to dissemble, or at least to suppress his conviction. I am not disposed to pronounce harshly concerning the sincerity of any man's principles ; but if this distinguished man was really persuaded of the necessity of reformation, it is difficult to give a satisfactory account of the reason which could induce him to prolong his connection with that corrupt society of which he was a member. It is possible, however, that he might for some time be dubious of the steadiness and prudence of the individuals who took the most active part in exposing the degeneracy of the Church. Of their principles and conduct he must have been unable to judge correctly, so long as he knew them only by rumour. Being of a cautious, and perhaps rather a timid disposition, he might apprehend that the premature disclosure of the plans of reformation might only accelerate the ruin of its authors ; and he would naturally fear that, if he and his more daring associates were involved in the same destruction, the great cause which he was eager to promote would be utterly frustrated. It is also extremely probable that he expected by delay to secure the adherence of numbers whose minds were not yet prepared for supporting so important a measure as the entire change of the mode of worship, and many articles of faith which had for several ages been deemed essential to salvation. He might even suppose that the reformation of the Church could be effected without overturning its whole establishment ; and it might appear to him to be much more prudent to aim at a practicable improvement than by temerity to risk the total failure of the scheme, and thus to perpetuate the dominion of error and spiritual despotism. Whatever his views may have been, there can be little doubt that his influ-

ence was usefully employed in directing the inquiries of the inmates of the convent, as it is known that about one-half of the Augustinian brethren under his superintendence became ministers immediately after the Reformation.

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After receiving the Archbishop's letter, Wynram summoned John Rough and John Knox to appear before a convention of the different orders of friars, which met in the area of St Leonard's College within the precincts of the priory. The two preachers were informed that the report of their strange and novel doctrines made it necessary to require from them a full explanation; and with much more fairness than is understood to be practised in the courts of the Inquisition, nine articles were read to them, which were said to be extracted from their sermons, and which formed the specific ground of their accusation.^a Knox conducted himself with great firmness and dignity. Addressing the sub-prior, he declared that he was much gratified at being admitted into the presence of so honourable and so modest an auditory, but he did not conceal his belief that the president of the assem-

Rough and
Knox sum-
moned be-
fore a con-
vention of
friars.

^a The articles were :—

1. No mortal man can be the head of the Church.

2. The Pope is an antichrist, and so is no member of Christ's mystical body.

3. Man may neither make nor devise a religion which is acceptable to God; but man is bound to observe and keep the religion which from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.

4. The Sacraments of the New Testament ought to be ministered as they were instituted by Christ Jesus, and practised by His apostles; nothing ought to be added to them—nothing ought to be diminished from them.

5. The mass is abominable idolatry, blasphemous to the death of Christ, and a profanation of the Lord's Supper.

6. There is no purgatory in which the souls of men can either be fined or purged after this life. But heaven resteth to the faithful, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithful.

7. Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.

8. There is no bishop except he preaches himself without any substitute.

9. The tithes by God's law do not appertain of necessity to the churchmen.—(*Knox's History*, p. 70.)

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bly was guilty of duplicity: "I have long heard," said he, "that you are not ignorant of the truth, and I crave of you in the name of the Supreme Judge, that if you think any article here expressed contrary to the truth of God, that you oppose it plainly, and suffer not the people to be deceived; but if in your conscience you know the doctrine to be true, declare your belief, that the people by your authority may be moved the rather to receive the truth." The sub-prior evasively answered, that he came not to judge, but only to converse familiarly—that he did not intend either to approve or to condemn, but, if agreeable to Knox, he would reason. He then began a guarded argument in favour of the propriety and significancy of the ceremonies devised by the Church, which, he affirmed, were lawful and profitable, though not expressly commanded in the Scriptures. Knox, on the other hand, maintained that whatsoever is not of faith is sin, and that men are not allowed either to add to the divine commands or to diminish from them. Wynram here interposed and said, "Will ye bind us so strait, that we may do nothing without the express word of God? What, if I ask a drink—think ye that I sin? And yet have I not God's word for me." Knox took occasion to reprove the sub-prior for the levity with which he treated so grave a subject, and told him plainly that his defence of ceremonies was as sophistical as it was shallow. The sub-prior, with much good-humour, apologised for his unseasonable jesting, and then requested Arbuckil, one of the grey friars, to pursue the argument. The monk, eager for the combat, and unaccustomed to defeat, undertook, without hesitation, to prove that ceremonies are ordained by God. As a specimen of his learning and

ingenuity, I shall transcribe a few sentences of the debate. LECT.
IV.

John Knox having said, "Such ceremonies as God hath ordained we allow, and use them with reverence ; but the question is of those which God hath not ordained, such as in baptism are spittle, salt, candle, face-cloth (except it be to keep the bairn from the cold), *hards*, oil, and the rest of the papistical inventions ;" Arbuckil, with unabated confidence, rejoined, "I will even prove those that ye damn to be ordained of God." "The proof thereof," said Knox, "I would gladly hear." Then said the friar, "Saith not St Paul that another foundation than Jesus Christ may no man lay ; but upon this foundation some build gold, silver, and precious stones,—some hay, stubble, and wood. The gold, silver, and precious stones, are the ceremonies of the Church, which do abide the fire and consume not away." "'This place of Scripture is most plain,' saith the foolish fiend." It is thus that Knox tells the story.

It is unnecessary to recite Knox's triumphant refutation of this jargon, or to describe the extraordinary inconsistencies into which the grey friar plunged when he found himself at a loss. He asserted that "the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote their epistles, but that after they received him, they prescribed the ceremonies ;" and when he had nothing else to say, "he always fled to the authority of the Church."

After this trial of strength the friars never sought again to be confronted with John Knox in the arena of debate, and no attempt was made to interfere with his public instructions, though there can be no doubt that his words were strictly watched. It is not, however, to

1547.
[Knox's
History,
p. 73.]

Other
means of
resistance
adopted
by the
Catholics.

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1547.

be imagined that nothing was done to obstruct the progress of his doctrines. A more crafty device than avowed opposition was now adopted. Every learned man in the abbey and the university was ordered to preach in his turn every Sunday in the parish church, and to avoid as much as possible all the disputed topics on which the new preachers were accustomed to dwell. Knox perceived that the object of this newly-excited diligence was to prevent the reformed teachers from occupying the pulpit on those days when the greatest concourse of inhabitants resorted to the church, and to quiet the minds of the people by delivering doctrines which, if not in the highest degree improving, were at least inoffensive. Wynram the sub-prior (not yet, it would appear, sufficiently determined on the part he was to act) began this course of preaching, and Spittal, the official, followed next. Knox, in his week-day sermons, praised God that Jesus Christ was preached, and nothing said publicly against his doctrine; but he earnestly prayed that equal activity might be shown to instruct the people when there should be greater necessity for it; and he entreated his hearers to suspend their judgment if his tenets were at any time controverted, till he was allowed to answer for himself. His instructions were attended with great success. Not only the garrison in the castle, but many of the inhabitants of the town, embraced the pure doctrines of the gospel, and publicly professed their faith by the participation of the Holy Communion.

But besides the preaching of the Catholic priests, other means were employed to check the progress of reformation. The clergy applied to the Government of the country, praying that the spiritual jurisdiction

might be immediately supported in its endeavours to stop the diffusion of the heresies which were now disseminated, not only in the remote parts of the country, but even under the eye of the Court. To this petition a favourable answer was given, in which the clergy were assured that, if the names of heretics were laid before the Council, the laws of the realm would be duly executed. By this time it appears that the clergy were afraid of proceeding to extremities, and that they were better pleased to hold out threatenings *in terrorem* than to venture on putting them in execution ; but they still occasionally tried the effect of severity. They considered their cause as being finally victorious when, upon the surrender of the Castle of St Andrews, Knox was carried prisoner into France, along with the conspirators against Cardinal Beton. Their joy upon the occasion was immoderate, and after that period their diligence in preaching seems to have been intermitted, that they might employ the harsher modes of conviction, which were much more congenial with the spirit of their superstitious creed. Under the influence of the Archbishop of St Andrews and his brother the Regent, courts for the trial of heretics were established throughout the country. In 1550, Adam Wallace, “a simple man without any great learning,” was accused of usurping the functions of a preacher—of baptising one of his own children—of denying purgatory—of asserting that prayers for the dead, and prayers addressed to the saints, were superstitious, and that the mass was an idolatrous ceremony. His defence of himself was not heard with patience, and he was condemned to death. On the following morning the sentence was inflicted ; and the patience and magnanimity with which he suffered

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1553.

served to increase the zeal of those who were still wavering in their attachment to the Protestant cause.

The provincial councils which were held from time to time had certainly one beneficial effect. By requiring the clergy to reform their lives, and to give heed to their doctrines, they made it necessary for them to reflect. In considering the articles of their belief, it was impossible for those who were capable of judging to avoid being struck with the extent of their departure from the standard of divine truth; and in the course of their inquiries many of them were led to embrace the faith which they had once destroyed. It is exceedingly probable that the publication of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, as it is called, had a similar effect. I shall take occasion afterwards to contrast the doctrines of this Catechism with those of the first Confession of Faith; but in the mean time I have only to remark that it promoted the discussion of subjects which, before that time, had never been treated in the language of this country.

William
Harlaw
and John
Willock.

In the year 1553, the hopes of the popish clergy were greatly elated by the death of Edward VI., and the succession of his sister, Queen Mary, to the throne of England. As this princess was devoted to the views of the Court of Rome, she used every effort to crush the Protestant interest, and to restore the ancient superstitions. To escape from her persecutions, numbers of her subjects sought an asylum in Scotland. Among the refugees were several ministers of the gospel, who no longer found it safe to reside within the English dominions. Two of them, natives of Scotland, afterwards made a distinguished figure in our national Church, namely, William Harlaw and John Willock. The bigoted Episcopalian writer

Keith represented it as a reproach to the first Protestants in Scotland that Harlaw, one of their preachers, had at one time been a tailor in Edinburgh; and, on the same principle, he might have objected to the mean occupations of the apostles and evangelists, on whose foundation the Christian Church was originally built. But the fact was that Harlaw, though he had once been engaged in a mechanical profession, was ordained (as a deacon) in England, where (according to Spotswood) he served some years with good approbation. He became afterwards minister of the West Church, adjoining the Castle of Edinburgh.

LECT.
IV.1555.
[Keith, 64,
and Index.][Spotswood,
p. 93.]

John Willock, who arrived a year or two after him, was a man of excellent education. He had been a Franciscan monk, and having renounced the popish creed, he became a zealous and successful preacher in England, where he acted as chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father. He was afterwards the most active of Knox's associates, and contributed in a high degree to the diffusion of religious knowledge and the establishment of that form of government which is delineated in the First Book of Discipline.

1555.

About the conclusion of the same year, Knox, who had lately been pastor of the English congregation at Frankfort-on-the-Main, returned to Scotland, and to his great delight ascertained that the number of Protestants was greatly increased, and that they had formed themselves into a society, at the head of which were Harlaw and Willock, and John Erskine of Dun, a gentleman of considerable property in Angussshire. Men of rank and fortune were now joining the standard of Reformation, and all of them listened with eagerness to the instructions of Knox. His stay in

Knox's
system of
doctrine,
as exhibited
in his
"Appella-
tion."

LECT.
IV.

1556.

Scotland at this time was of short duration. Being solicited to take charge of the English congregation at Geneva, he willingly accepted the invitation, and had scarcely left Scotland when he was condemned as an heretic, and burnt in effigy. This indignity was only the expression of the impotent malice of his enemies. They had summoned him to appear before a convention in the Church of the Blackfriars at Edinburgh, and he had attended accordingly. But they had not courage to proceed against him, and he preached openly for several days without molestation. The sentence pronounced against him in his absence could not depress his exalted mind. It furnished him with an occasion to publish to the world a retrospect of the instructions which he had delivered during his short visit to his native land, and which had provoked the clergy to doom him to the ignominious and cruel punishment of heresy. This comprehensive view of his tenets is given in the Appellation from the sentence pronounced by the false bishops and clergy, addressed to the Nobility and Estates of Scotland. He had taught that there is no other name by which men can be saved, except the name of Jesus; that as the Saviour by one offering perfected them which are sanctified, all other sacrifices on which men might be disposed to rely are derogatory from His all-sufficient merits; that all men ought to hate sin, which is so odious in the sight of God that His justice could not be satisfied except by the death of His own Son,—that all who have been bought by this price ought to serve God in newness of life,—that all who hope for life everlasting ought to avoid superstition, idolatry, and false religion, by which expression he denoted whatsoever is not expressly commanded

[The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishops and clergy of Scotland. Printed at Geneva, 1558.]

in the Word of God,—and these plain doctrines he conceived to be so conformable to God's Word, that he could not but be astonished to learn that there were men who called them in question, and who pronounced the sentence of death upon him for maintaining them. He therefore appealed to a lawful general council, to be constituted according to the ancient rules.

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IV.

1557.

Meanwhile he took care also to address to his brethren whom he left behind him the most prudent and salutary counsels. He recommended to them the diligent study of the Scriptures. He entreated them to be regular in their private and domestic devotions, and in the duty of instructing their families. He directed them also to convene once every week, if they had opportunity; that they should then confess their sins, and invoke the assistance of the Holy Spirit; that they should read a part of the Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament; that if any brother were capable of exhortation or interpretation, he should communicate it modestly; that if anything occurred which their capacities could not apprehend, they should write it down before they closed the meeting, and apply for the assistance of men of greater learning; and that all their assemblies should end with thanksgivings and prayers for princes, rulers, and magistrates, for the liberty and free course of the gospel, for the deliverance of persecuted brethren, and for such other things as the Spirit of their Master should teach them to be profitable either to themselves or their brethren. The regulations thus suggested by Knox were in all probability adopted; and we may therefore, without hesitation, assume that this was the mode in which divine service was conducted

His letter
to the Pro-
testants in
Scotland,
7th July
1557.
M'Crie's
Life of
Knox [(6th
ed.) p. 118,
and Ap-
pendix.]

LECT.
IV.

in the reformed Church of Scotland before regular teachers were established throughout the country.

While the principles of the Reformers were thus quietly working their way, the prelates and leaders of the Roman Catholic party were by no means idle. Councils were held year after year; means were provided for supporting preachers; the bishops themselves were required to preach four times every year at least, if they were able; inquisitors were appointed to search after heretical opinions and condemned books; lecturers on theology and on the canon law were required to be stationed in all the cathedral churches, for the improvement not only of the prebendaries, but of the bishops themselves; and lecturers on theology were also to be attached to all the monasteries. There is no small reason to believe that the same object was aimed at by Archbishop Hamilton, when he enlarged and completed the foundation of this college in the year 1553. This is a fact not unworthy of notice in the literary and religious history of our country.

1553.
St Mary's
College,
St Andrews,
extended
by Arch-
bishop
Hamilton.
1552-(3.)

The school of divinity is coeval with the existence of this university,^a and the statutes are still extant by which the proceedings of the theological faculty were directed many years before there was any distinction of colleges. The document is curious and interesting, and nothing but its great length prevents me from giving you an abstract of its contents. More than a hundred years after the period to which I now refer, Archbishop James Beton, under the sanction of the Pope, erected what was then called the Pædagogium of

^a [For an elaborate account of the early history of the University of St Andrews, see Dr M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, chap. v. ("chiefly taken," Dr M'Crie says in the preface, "from

copies of papers and notes furnished him by Dr Lee, Professor of Church History and Divinity in the College of which Melville was Principal.") Ed.]

the University into a college. This happened in the year 1538, at the very time when persecution was raging most fiercely against those who sought to be better instructed. Under this new constitution, the college dedicated to the Virgin Mary contained two professors of divinity, a professor of canon law, another of civil law, and four regents of philosophy. What defects Archbishop Hamilton discovered in this arrangement of study I do not pretend to know, but soon after his accession he seems to have resolved to alter it; and accordingly, in the year 1552, he obtained authority from Pope Julius III. to carry his plan into execution. The establishment which he chose to introduce was by far the most extensive of any of the academical institutions in this city, comprehending no fewer than thirty-six founded persons; but he seems to have expected that the same funds which Beton had assigned to the maintenance of eight masters and six choristers should be sufficient to support three times the number. His distribution of appointments was very different from that of his predecessors in the see,—namely, a provost and two other principal masters, all professors of divinity; one professor of the sacred canons, or the pontifical law; eight priests, who were diligently to apply to the study of theology during a course of six years, and to qualify themselves to solve all the difficulties which occur in Holy Writ; three professors or regents of philosophy, for teaching logic, ethics, physics, mathematics, and other liberal arts; a professor of rhetoric or oratory; and another of grammar; and sixteen students of philosophy. These endowments merit no praise on the ground of liberality, as he only confirmed what had been granted before, and required it to be

LECT.
IV.

1553.

[Charta fundationis
Coll. Mar.,
per Jo.
Hamilton,
Archiep.
S. And.
(25th Feb.
1553.)]

LECT.
IV.

1553.

divided among a much greater number. But there is a great parade of ostentatious and provident kindness manifested to the tender little flock (as he calls them) who were to be the future inmates of these walls, and whom he was most anxious to defend from the grievous wolves that lay in wait for their destruction. The object of the whole system evidently was to train up the candidates for the Church as expert wranglers, and ready speakers on every point of theological speculation, as well as to prepare them by strict discipline for conducting themselves with exemplary decorum, both in their private capacities and in their public ministrations. Those who are described as students of theology, were not persons who had never been in the situation of applying to that study before. They are designed *sacerdotes omnes*; and before their admission to their six years' course, it was necessary that they should give proof, by three public examinations, that they were well-grounded in the principles of sacred erudition. Being in priest's orders, they were regularly to celebrate mass in their turns,—every one of them, in their order, performing the duty on the successive week-days, and two on the Lord's day. They were to be constantly present at the lectures of the first, second, and third master, and in rotation they were to give public exhibitions of their skill in illustrating the text of the Sentences (the standards of divine learning in those times), every lawful day, from the 1st of October to the 1st of March. After accomplishing the period of their studies, they were expected to be prepared to rank as licentiates (the highest rank of graduates except doctors), and to undertake the most important charges in the Church. Even when they were attending their studies in the college,

they were considered as being entitled to no slight pre-eminence. They took precedence of all the other founded persons, except the teachers of divinity and canon law. The regents of philosophy, as well as the orator and grammarian, were an inferior order. This appears to have been one of Hamilton's innovations, though, before his time, there is reason to think that the students of theology generally acted as regents, as the same class of persons did in King's College, Aberdeen, according to Bishop Elphinston's constitution or charter of that university.

The Archbishop seems to have gone far and near to beat up for recruits, or else there must have been much canvassing to gain admission into this seminary of polemics. The primate had been abbot of Paisley, and we find, soon after the new erection of the college, the provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell and two monks of Paisley matriculated in the album among the Incorporati of St Mary's College. In the same year, two monks of Arbroath are enrolled. Almost every year a colony of Hamiltons peopled the apartments both of St Mary's and the other colleges.^a The Archbishop, as chancellor and patron of the University, had the principal voice in all nominations, and he seems to have been so short-sighted as to expect that, when he was bestowing the children's bread on men of his own name and lineage, he was building up the walls of the Catholic Church on a

^a [In St Mary's there were nine professors,—three of divinity, one of canon law, three of philosophy, one of rhetoric, and one of grammar. Very soon after the Reformation (at least in 1569), five of the nine were Hamiltons, namely, Robert, Archibald, Alexander, James, and John. This John

was the secular priest afterwards, but about this time he was an elder of the reformed Kirk-session of St Andrews; while Robert Hamilton, the Principal of the college, was minister of the parish. In 1569, John Hamilton was one of the regents or teachers of philosophy.—(See also Appendix, No. VI.)

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sure foundation, and mustering around him a legion of united brethren, against whom the efforts of revolutionary upstarts would never be able to prevail. In none of his infatuated measures was he ever more misled. His partiality estranged many who would have been his firm adherents; and three or four of these highly-favoured kinsmen whom he had fed at his table, and promoted at an early age to appointments in his college, were among the first who revolted from his interest. Whether their defection arose from disappointment at not being preferred at once to the chief places, or from some selfish consideration, or from some treacherous collusion with the primate, whom they still continued to regard as their friend, it is impossible to determine; but I cannot believe that the change in their case arose from principle, as most of them apostatised many years afterwards, and became the bitterest enemies of the Reformers. So it was, however, that the New College of St Andrews, instead of proving what Hamilton intended it to be, a nursery of zealous defenders of the Roman hierarchy, was the school from which proceeded the greatest number of persons who were recommended to the first General Assembly of the reformed Church, as being apt and able for ministering and teaching. This, perhaps, may be ascribed in a great measure to the influence of Douglas, the principal of the College, who had been appointed to that station during the vacancy after Cardinal Beton's death, by Lord James Stewart, commendator of the priory, and John Wynram, sub-prior, and who was continued in his office by Hamilton. Whatever the cause might be, the fact is certain.^a

^a [The records of the university prove how much all the colleges suffered from the troubles which immediately preceded the Reformation. In

This John Douglas is represented by several writers as the same person who, after having been a Carmelite friar, became chaplain to the Earl of Argyll, and gave occasion to the well-known remonstrance of Archbishop Hamilton with that nobleman in the year 1556. These writers are mistaken. John Douglas, who became principal in 1547, had previously been a priest in the diocese of Dunkeld, and was rector of this university every successive year from 1550 to 1573. He neither could nor durst have left his station to become a preacher of the new doctrines; or if he had, he would have incurred immediate deprivation.

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IV.John Douglas, Principal of the New College.
[Knox's History, p. 106.]

The principles of the Reformation were propagated with the greatest zeal in Ayrshire, the Lothians, Fife, Angus, Murray, and part of Perthshire. Dundee, Perth, Montrose, Cupar, St Andrews, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were the first of the towns in which the cause was warmly and generally espoused. A number of the principal nobility took an active part. Many of the lesser barons and gentlemen who have since become the chief families in the country were exceedingly zealous,—and if they had only abstained from enriching themselves (as some of them did) by appropriating part of the ecclesiastical revenues, they would have gained unmingled applause. It ought never to be forgotten, however, that the real leaders were men who had been educated as churchmen, and who, by maintaining their devotion to the See of Rome, might have

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Establishment of the Reformation.

1558, the whole entry in the Rector's books is as follows: "Nonus Rector. atus M̃gri Joannis Douglasii præpositi Novi Collegii Mariani 1558. Hoc anno propter tumultus religionis ergo exertos, paucissimi scholastici ad hanc universitatem venerunt. Nomina incorporatorum: In Coll. Novo Mariano—Hector Munro, Jacobus Richardson, Joannes M'Unrune." In 1559 it is said, "Statuit academia omnes laureandos hujus pro laureatis haberi, quod universa reip. perturbatione et religionis reformatione veteres ritus servare impeditur." (*Excerpts from University Papers.*)

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expected to rise to the highest distinction. John Wynram and John Douglas, John Knox and John Willock, as well as Spotswood and Row, the six compilers of the First Book of Discipline, had all been bred to the Church ; some of them had enjoyed valuable and honourable preferments ; and all of them had reason to indulge the most flattering prospects. But they counted all things as loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus their Lord.

Through the instrumentality of these men, the nobility, gentry, and burgesses were prevailed on, in the end of the year 1557, to form themselves into that associated body which took the name of the Congregation. They required of the Queen-Regent that prayers and the administration of the sacraments should be celebrated in their native tongue ; that the people should elect their ministers ; that the lives and doctrines of all admitted into the Church should be strictly examined ; and that all unlearned and flagitious persons occupying offices in the Church should be deposed. The Queen was not disposed to yield to these demands. The negotiations and campaigns which ensued are well described by Dr Robertson and many other writers. The Lords of the Congregation, too easily deluded by fair promises, lost much time by their credulity. At last the people were wearied out with the reiterated violations of the Regent's promises, and alarmed at the symptoms of oppression which began to manifest themselves. As soon as it was known that the ministers were declared outlaws, the multitude, losing all patience, proceeded to acts of tumultuary violence, which their chiefs were unable to restrain. Cathedrals and monasteries were pulled down, and the monuments of superstition were

[Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. i. b. iii.]

destroyed. But no depredations on property were committed. The priests were allowed to gather up the fragments of their vessels of silver and vessels of gold. The Queen-Regent obtained a reinforcement of troops from France, and the Reformers applied to the Queen of England for succour. The war might have been obstinate and destructive if the Queen-Regent's death, and, a few months afterwards, the death of Francis, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, had not disconcerted all the plans of the Catholics. Thus, under the favour of Providence, was the Reformation established, with little expense of blood. I shall next proceed to delineate the principles by which it was distinguished.

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LECTURE V.

DOCTRINES PROFESSED BY THE SCOTTISH REFORMERS—A CONFESSION OF FAITH LAID BEFORE THE ESTATES—EXPOSITION OF THE ARTICLES OF THE ORIGINAL CONFESSION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND — THE CONFESSION CONTRASTED WITH ARCHBISHOP HAMILTON'S CATECHISM—ITS RATIFICATION BY PARLIAMENT.

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WE now proceed to take a view of the doctrines professed by the reformers of the Church of Scotland, as they were presented to the Parliament which met in the month of July 1560.

[Knox, p.
256.]

From what Knox has said in his *History*, it may be safely concluded that the persons to whom the preparation of this Confession of Faith was committed were the same individuals who were immediately afterwards employed in the construction of the form of Discipline, with the assistance probably of some of the other preachers. A petition, signed by a number of barons, gentlemen, and others, was given in to the Parliament, craving, 1st. That the false doctrine and idolatrous worship of the Popish Church might be abolished ; 2d. That the pure administration of the sacraments, and the faithful exercise of discipline, might be restored to the Church ; and, 3d. That the patrimony of the Church might be devoted to the support of the ministry, the encouragement of learn-

ing, and the assistance of the poor. In answer to the first of these requests (that the corruptions of doctrine might be condemned), the Parliament called in the barons and ministers who had subscribed the petition, and desired them to exhibit, under plain and distinct heads, the sum of the articles of belief which they wished to be established. In four days the Confession was produced as the declaration of their united judgment concerning the chief points of religious knowledge.

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It corresponds in its general features with the confessions which had previously been published by the other churches of the Reformation, but it is not copied from any of them. It is inserted at length in Knox's *History*, in the printed Calderwood, in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament for 1567, in Dunlop's Collection of Confessions, and in several other works. The compilers of it were well acquainted with all the doctrines of the Romish Church, having (with scarcely any exceptions) been for many years priests or friars in that communion; and it was naturally their chief object to guard against the errors which had long prevailed among the adherents of antichristian superstition.^a But it dwells much less

A Confession of Faith laid before Parliament.

[Knox, p. 239, Calderwood, 14. Act. Parl. Scot. ii. 526. Dunlop, ii. 21.]

^a [Some light is thrown on the general character of these errors, as they prevailed in Scotland before the Reformation, by the terms of the Recantations drawn up and subscribed by converts from the priesthood. Many documents of this kind have been preserved. The following is an example, from the author's transcripts:—"Sunday the xvij day of Marche 1559 [60]—followis the recantation of frere Gresone prior provinciall generall of all the friers predicators in Scotland be him playnlie in the face

of the congregatioun within the parochie kirk of Sanctandr^s. day and zeir forsaid maid.

"Heir in presence of Almightie and everlasting God, and of this holy congregation, I grant and confess that in tyme by past I haif maynteynit and defendit divers kindes of superstition and idolatrie by the laws and ordinances of Almightie God, and hais remanet o' lang at the opinion and defenss of sick things, and repents the samyn fra the bodowm of my hart, and is content in tym to cum to in-

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on the points of difference between the Church of Rome and the churches of the Reformation, than most of the other confessions,—and it is much simpler and more perspicuous in its structure than the Confession of the Swiss Church, from which the Scottish reformers might have been expected to borrow more liberally

stitut and conform my lyfe to the word and doctryne of the eternall God, set furth, explicate, and declared be his prophetes and the apostols of or onlie Salvio^r Christ Jesu, in the Auld Testament and the New, and thinks that the kirk and congregation of God may be sufficientlie instructit to inchew syn dead and hell, and quhow they may cum to everlasting lyfe be they things qlks are reveled to ws be the Haly Gaist in new and auld testament; and therefor I reject, renunceis, and abhors all uthers doctrynes and traditioness of men quhilks ar contrariouss to Goddis haly word, and is set owt to thirle mannes consciences to obless them under the payne of deadlie syn.

“And in speciall, I renunce the pape to be head of the kirk, and also I renunce him and all his traditioness and lawes repugnant in any sort, or makand derogatioun to Goddis lawes or libertie of the samyn.

“Item, I renunce the mess as it hais beyne uset in tymes bypast, and the fenziēt and inventit purgatorie as pestiferouss and blasphemous things, and as contrariouss things to the merits and passioun and omnisufficient sacrifice offerred upon the croce to o^r Salvio^r Christe for the redemptioun of mankynde.

“Item, I grant that no graven image suld be maid and worshipping in the Kirk of God, and that na honor suld be given thereto, and that all exhibitoun of sick honor exhibite or to be exhibite to sick stokks or stancess is verray idolatrie and against the express command of God.

“Item, I grant that we haif na command of God biddand us pray to ony sanctis at ar departit, bott onlie to him quha is sanct of all sancts—viz. Christi Jesu our onlie Salvio^r, mediato^r, and advocate, everlevand and perpetuallie makand intercession to his father for all his faithfull people and members of his body, and siclyke I grant that we haif na command to pray for them that ar departit.

“Item, as I grant that to them that hais the gift of chastitie, it is gude and godlie to lief in chastitie, even sae I grant, according to Sanct Paule's doctryne, that it is lawchfull to all men and women to mary quha hais not the gift of chastitie, notwithstanding any vow maid to the contrary, bott give thei be vexed and weariet with and urgent appetites of the flesche, they are bound be the commandments of the Lord to mary.

“Item, I deny all transubstantiation in the sacrament of the body and blude of o^r Salvio^r Christi Jesu, and that auriculare confessionne is necessar for the salvatioun of man.

“Thei foresaid and all uthers ungodlie opinioness and inventes of men qlks ar contrariouss to God and his holy word, I detest, abhor, and renunceis for now and ever. And of my lang adherence to the samyn, I ask God mercie and this his haly congregatioun forgiveness.

“Followis the tennor of the subscription, frater JOHANNES GRESONE, manu propria.”—(*Records of Kirk Session of St Andrews.*)]

than from any other, as this was a form of words with which Knox was most familiar, and to which he had already expressed his adherence. We would not do justice, however, either to Knox or to any of his co-adjutors, if we did not admit that they studied the Scriptures much more closely than any system of human composition, and that the references to inspired authority by which they support their various positions, display an intimate and profound acquaintance with the only pure sources of theological knowledge. It is not unworthy of notice that the composition is extremely correct, being in this respect far superior to the catechism published only eight years before, by Archbishop Hamilton.

The whole number of articles is twenty-five, or according to another numeration, twenty-six. The first relates to the being and attributes of God, who is declared to be the only object of worship and religious confidence. This article is far better expressed than in any of the other Confessions which I have examined, and contains no direct allusion (as most of them do) to the errors of ancient or modern heretics. The second article treats of the creation of man in the image of God, and of his fall from this state of honour and perfection. The third asserts the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of regeneration. The fourth is entitled, "Of the Revelation of the Promise," and affirms that the merciful declaration of future deliverance was clearly understood, and joyfully embraced, by all the faithful patriarchs under the law. The fifth maintains that God always preserved and honoured a true church from the time of Adam till the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh.

The sixth chapter of the Confession relates to the

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Exposition
of the ori-
ginal Con-
fession of
the Church
of Scotland,
Chap. I. to
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Chap. VI.

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1560. incarnation of Christ Jesus, and contains an acknowledgment that the Messiah promised to the fathers, the Angel of the great counsel of God, was "very God and very man, two perfit natures united and joyned in one persoun." "Be quhilk our confession," it is added, "we condemne the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arias, Marcion, Eutyches, Nestorius, and sik uthers as either did denie the eternitie of his Godhead, or the veritie of his human nature, or confounded them, or zit divided them."

Chap. VII. The seventh head is entitled, "Why it behoved the Mediator to be very God and very man ;" and it would have been well if all theological writers had imitated the becoming humility with which it is expressed: "We acknowlege and confesse that this maist wondrous conjunction between the Godhead and the manhead in Christ Jesus did proceed from the eternall and immutable decree of God, from quhilk al our salvioun springs and depends." Here there is not a word of the necessity of the Saviour being man, that he might have the knowledge of our infirmities, as if the omniscient Being who made us were ignorant of our frame and did not remember that we are dust.

Chap. VIII. The next article, entitled *Election*, is on the same subject with the former—not relating to the doctrine of election any farther than as, in the first sentence, it contains the following expression: "That same eternall God and Father, who of meere grace elected us in Christ Jesus before the foundation of the world was laide, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor and great Bischop of our sauls." It then goes on to declare, that because the enmity between the justice of God and our sins was such that no flesh by itself could or might have attained unto God, it behoved

the Son of God to descend and take to himself a body of our body, and so become mediator between God and man, giving power to so many as believe in him to be the sons of God—by which most holy fraternity, whatever we have lost in Adam is restored to us again. And for this cause we are not afraid to call God our Father, not so much because he hath created us (which we have common with the reprobate) as for that, that he hath given to us his only Son to be our brother. It behoved farther the Messias and Redeemer to be very God and very man because he was to underlie the punishment due for our transgressions, and to present himself in the presence of the Father's judgment, as in our person, to suffer for our transgression and disobedience, by death to overcome him that was the author of death. But because the only Godhead could not suffer death, neither yet could the only manhood overcome the same, he joined both together in one person, that the imbecility of the one should suffer and be subject to death (which we had deserved), and the infinite and invincible power of the other, to wit, of the Godhead, should triumph, and purchase to us life, liberty, and perpetual victory.

I have given the substance of the sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, all of them relating to the doctrine of the incarnation and mediatorial office of Christ, because they present to us, in the most appropriate language, a correct view of the orthodox tenets on this mysterious subject, and because they afford us an opportunity of marking the great superiority of this compendium over the exposition of the creed contained in Hamilton's Catechism, in which there are many vain attempts to search into obscure and inexplicable questions. "The Haly Spirit gaderit certane of the maist pure and clein droppis of

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Archbishop
Hamilton's
Catechism,
on the incar-
nation and
mediatorial
office of
Christ.

[Hamilton's
Catechism,
fol. xevii.]

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blud, quhilk was in the bodie of the virgin, and of yame fassionit and formit the perfit body of our Saviour . . . and sa sche consaivit the Sonne of God. Nochttheless ye suld beleive that the Haly Spret wrocht this blissit incarnatioun, nocht without the wyrking of the Father and the Son, for doubtless all the hail Trinitie, the Father, the Son, and the Haly Spret wrocht the same blissit haly incarnation, as we gadder of ye wordis, quhilk the angel Gabriel said to the glorious virgin—‘The Haly Spreit sall cum upon the, and the powar of the hiaist sal ovirschadow the.’ As ye hev plainly the Haly Spreit expremitt, sa quhen he said this word *powar*, he speikis of the Son of God, qlk is callit *virtus et sapientia Dei*, the powar and the wisdome of God, quhen he said this word *heast*, he spak of the Father eternal, quhilk is the heast. Sa in yir wordis we may leir that the haly Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Haly Gaist was the wyrker of this incarnation, suppose be attribution it is ascrivit to the Haly Spreit, because that the Son of God was incarnat for the great lufe yat God had to mankind. . . . And thairfore as powar is ascrivit to the Father, and wisdom to the Sonne, sa is gudness and lufe attribut to the Haly Spreit, be reason quhairof we say that the Sonne of God was consaivit be the Haly Spreit.” The writer then gives a long account of the time and place, and many other circumstances connected with our Saviour’s nativity, of which the following is a short specimen : “The house qrin he was born was nother stark castyll, fair palyce, proper chalmyr, and siclyke, bot because thair was na uther place in the lodgin, it plesit the King of all kingis, and the Lord of al lordis, to be borne in ane stabil, and quhen he was borne to be laid in a

[Ibid., fol.
xcix.]

crybbe, so gret exempil of meiknes he wald schaw to us all. . . . Behald heir devoutly how that the mother of our Salviour was ane clein virgin quhen sche buir him, according as it was prophesit be the halie prophet Esaie, sayand thus,—‘Behald (says he) ane virgin sal consaif and beir ane barne ; and his name sal be callit Emanuel, quilk be interpret is alsmeikil to say as God is with us.’ And doutles his blessit mother was a virgin, nocht only in his birth, but also evirmair efter his birth ; and her perpetual virginitie afore his birth, in his birth, and efter his birth, may weil be knawin be her awin words quilk sche sd. to the angel Gabriel,—*Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco.*”^a The Catechism proceeds with a great many strange and frivolous conceits concerning the virgin Mary,—for example : “Trewly all devote Christin men and wemen hes gret cause to be blyth in God, quhen thai heir this name Maria pronunsit and spokin, kennand perfity yat, foralsmekil as sche is ye mother of our Salviour Christ, sche is the begynnar of all our grace and salvationn. Eva, yit being a virgin, consenting to the devil, brought the malediction of God and eternal dede upon us. Bot the glorious virgin Marie consenting to the messenger of God, restorit us agane to the benedictionn of God and eternal lyfe.” Much more follows in a similar strain. Such were the considerations which this Catholic writer thought of the deepest importance in relation to the coming of Christ in the flesh ; and he concludes by saying : “ Be faith of the

^a As an example of popish fairness and accuracy in quoting the Scriptures and rendering them into the vulgar tongue, it may be mentioned, that in translating, as he does, the

above words into the vernacular, the author of the Catechism renders *non cognosco* “I am nocht *purposit* to ken,” in order to make the passage serve his purpose.

LECT. V. same blissit incarnation we haif cause to be kendellet
 1560. in the trew lufe of God quhilk hes luffit us sa gretly,
 [Hamilton's Catechism, fol. ci.] that nocht only he hes gevin to us all creatouris
 to mak us service, the angellis to be our kepare, the
 hevins to geve us lycht and influence, fische, foule,
 and beist to our sustentation; bot als wa to schaw
 his excedand lufe towart us, he hais geven us his awin
 natural Sonne to our salvation and redemption."

It is unnecessary to point out the great difference between these passages and the dignity of thought and of style which pervades the articles of the first reformed teachers of the Church of Scotland relating to the same topic. Can any man in his senses believe that the religious sentiments of this country would ever have been purified by the efforts of those provincial councils by whose advice, and probably by whose joint labours, the Catechism of Catholic Instruction was prepared, after nearly as many years' labour as the Protestant Confession occupied days?

Chap. IX.
 of the Con-
 fession.
 "Christ's
 death, pas-
 sion, and
 burial."

But to proceed with the Scottish Confession. The ninth article treats of "Christ's death, passion, and burial." It affirms "that our Lord Jesus offered himself a voluntary sacrifice unto his Father for us,—that he suffered contradiction of sinners,—that he was wounded for our transgressions,—that he suffered not only the cruel death of the cross, but also for a season the wrath of his Father which sinners had deserved,—that he remained the only well-beloved Son of the Father, while he suffered in his body and soul to make full satisfaction for the sins of the people,—and that there remaineth no other sacrifice for sin, which if any affirm, we nothing doubt to avow that they are blasphemous against Christ's death."

Mr Collier, in the second volume of his *History*, has said that part of this article seems somewhat crudely digested, inasmuch as it affirms that our Saviour “suffered for a season the wrath of his Father, but that yet he remained the only well-beloved and blessed Son of the Father, even in the midst of his anguish and torment.” Mr Collier is too coarse a critic to handle so delicate a topic. If the Redeemer of men endured what sinners deserved, he must have sustained that awful pressure of divine indignation which was the just punishment of sin, and under the load of this anguish he cried out, “My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?” Yet the Lord was well pleased for his righteousness sake when he magnified the law and made it honourable, by offering up his soul as a sacrifice for sin. I do not say that this article could not have been better expressed,—but the sticklers for antiquity have no right to quarrel with our Church for having adopted language employed by the Christian fathers.

Probably Mr Collier would have discovered little that he thought objectionable in the doctrines contained in Hamilton’s Catechism concerning the passion of Jesus Christ, the beginning of which is to the following purpose: “Ye suld now, O Christian pepil, with great lufe and fervent devotion, heir this artikil of the passioun of our Salviour Christ declarit to you, considerand q^t St Paule sais, ‘*Verbum*,’ &c. ‘The word of the cross seems to be daftness and folie to thame that perishes and is condemnit, but to yame yat ar saiffit, it is the vertew and powar of God.’ The infidelis quilk wantis our Christian faith thinkis it gret fulechnes to say yat

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[Collier, ii.
467.][Matt.
xxvii. 46.
1s. xlii. 21,
and liii. 10.][Hamilton’s
Catechism,
on the same
subject.
[fols. ci.
and cii.]

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God may thoil passioun,^a nocht understanding that our Salviour Christ is bayth God and man, and that in the nature of his Godheid he tholit na passioun, bot in the nature of his manheid he tholit his passioun. . . . Trewly he tholit sair and displesand wordis spokin to him; yai callit him ane Samaritane; yai said yat he was possessit with a devil; thai said he brak the Sabbath-day; thai said he was ane drounkart; and, secondly, he tholit sair strakes: and, last of all, he tholit the sairest painis of dede. He tholit for us bayth in his body and his saule; he was bound, he was strykin with neiffis (fists); he was fylit with thair vyle spetting; he was dong with scurgis. . . . And trow not yat he tholit na paine in his saule, for he said himself quhen he was in the yaird, afore he was taken, '*Tristis*,' &c.—My saule is sarie and sad, evin to the dede, and he prayit a lang prayer, sa that his swet came rynnand downe upon the erde like droppis of bluid—and as we said afore, al thir paynis tholit he for us in his manly nature, and nocht in his godly nature, for as the nature of man was passible and mycht thole, sa the nature of God is impassibil, and may nocht thoil. As Sanct Peter declaris—*Peccata nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum, ut peccatis mortui justiciæ vivamus*. He tholit for our synnis gret painis and passionis in his bodie apon the cross, yat we, be the merits of his passion applyit to us be faith and the sacraments, mycht dee fra sin and leif in blessitnes." Here again the catechist returns to his old practice of interpolating the Scriptures with his own commentaries, whenever he professes to translate them. As if the efficacy of Christ's death were

^a [*i.e.* suffer pain.]

incomplete, he introduces the virtue of the sacraments. He owns, indeed, that the blood of Christ was an acceptable offering to make them perfect “quhilk is hal-lowit,” and then he adds, “that is to say, sanctifyit be leivand faith in his blude, and resavin of the sacrament of baptyme.” In speaking of the death of Christ, however, the author of the Catechism dwells chiefly on its use as an example of love, of patience, of meekness, of perfect obedience, and of contempt of vain and worldly pleasure.

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[Hamilton's
Catechism,
fols. cv.
and cvi.]

The descent to hell is discussed at considerable length by this writer, who asserts that there are “four distinct partis or placis of hell, after the declaratioun of doctoris, and ilk ane of yame, eftir the common maner of speking is callit hell,—*infernus damnatorum*, in quhilk is three distinct paynis, privatioun of grace, privatioun of glore, and perpetual feeling of sensibil payne,—*infernus puerorum*, quhairin is ye saulis of all ye barnis yat departes of yis warld nocht being baptisit, and thair is privatioun of grace and privatioun of glore, but na sensibil payne,—*infernus purgandorum*, or purgatorie, where is privatioun of glore, and also sensibil payne for a tyme, bot nocht privatioun of grace,—and, lastly, *infernus patrum*, quhair was na payne, bot allanerly^a wanting of the glore of God, yai had na sensibil payne, yai had the favour and grace of God, and lukit to get the gloir of God be the passioun of Christ, and therefore it was callit the bosum of Abraham. To this place, callit *Limbus Patrum* or *Sinus Abrahæ*, our Saviour descendit, nocht to thoil ony payne or passioun thair, but to deliver his serv-andis quhilk afore the tyme of his passioun departit fra this warld in his faith, hoip, and cherity.”

[Ib. fol.
cvii.]

^a [Alone.]

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Chaps. X.,
XI., XII.
of the Con-
fession.

The tenth and eleventh articles of the Scottish Confession of Faith relate to the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and the twelfth treats of faith in the Holy Ghost. In this last article the Holy Ghost is acknowledged to be God, equal with the Father and the Son, who sanctifieth us, and bringeth us into all truth, by his own operation, and without whom we should remain for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Son Christ Jesus ; and as we confess that God the Father created us when we were not, as his Son redeemed us when we were enemies to him ; so also we confess that the Holy Ghost doth sanctify and regenerate us without all respect of any merit proceeding from us, be it before or be it after our regeneration. It was necessary to be most explicit in disavowing all claims of merit, and in ascribing the whole work of sanctification to the agency of the Holy Spirit, at a time when it was currently believed, on the authority of the Church of Rome, that all who were baptised were regenerated and renewed in their souls ; that the administration of this sacrament to infants removed the guilt of original sin ; and that its administration to adults secured the remission of all sins, not only original, but also actual and personal. The Papists maintained that, in addition to this benefit, another effect of baptism was the receiving of the Holy Spirit to work in the heart the true love of God, by which men are enabled to keep the divine commandments perfectly. A third effect of baptism, according to these writers, was to clothe them that received it with the righteousness of Christ, and to enable them to mortify all evil passions. At a period when the efficacy of mere external ordinances was so highly extolled, it was not possible to be too care-

[Hamilton's
Catechism,
fol. cxxviii.]

ful in guarding against one of the most pernicious errors which ever contaminated the system of Christianity. LECT.
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The thirteenth chapter, having for its title, "The Cause of Good Works," declares that it is "not free will but the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, who, dwelling in our hearts by true faith, brings forth such good works as God hath prepared for us to walk in;" and that it is "blasphemy to affirm that Christ Jesus abideth in the heart of those in whom there is no spirit of sanctification," or who "obstinately continue in their wickedness." The whole of this article is so expressed as to uphold the interests of sound morality, while it asserts that it is only through divine power that man is able to do anything that is good. Chap. XIII.

The fourteenth article exhibits a general description of those works which are reputed good before God. They are those only which are done to the honour of God, or to the profit of our neighbours, those which are done in faith, and at God's commandment, who in his law hath expressed what are the things which please him. Under this head all superstitious observances, which have no assurance but the invention and opinion of men, are pronounced to be evil works, as truly as if they were expressly done against God's commandment. Chap. XIV.

"The Perfection of the Law and the Imperfection of Man" are treated of in the fifteenth division of the Confession. The divines of the Romish communion asserted that the merit of the saints might be so great as to exceed the demands of the law, and that the surplus of their merits being all accounted for in the book of God's remembrance, availed to the justification of those sinners to whom the Church granted Chap. XV.

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absolution. The Scottish Reformers maintained that "the law is most holy and perfect, but that our nature is so corrupt, weak, and imperfect, that we are never able completely to fulfil the works of the law, and therefore it behoveth us to apprehend Christ Jesus with his justice and satisfaction,"^a who is the end and accomplishment of the law to all that believe, by whom we are set at this liberty, that the curse and malediction of the law fall not upon us, albeit we fulfil not the same in all points. . . . But whosoever boast themselves of the merit of their own works, or put their trust in the works of supererogation, they boast themselves of

^a [There is probably no allusion here to the twofold distinction which, in more recent times, has generally obtained with respect to the righteousness of the Redeemer. It is said that the sufferings of Christ, or what is called his passive obedience, availed merely to remove the penalty of sin, or to procure pardon; and that what has been called his active obedience, or the entire conformity of his life to the perfect law of God, purchased the inheritance of eternal life. I am not quite sure who first introduced this distinction. I find it, in some writers, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Thus, in the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ*, by the theological Professors at Leyden, first published in 1624, I observe in a disputation by Ant. Thysius, *De Justificatione Hominis Coram Deo*, the 8th section runs thus: *Ejus partes sunt duæ. Imputatio justiciæ passivæ, seu absolutio a peccatis, et justitiæ activæ imputatio. Quarum illâ a reatu et condemnatione liberamur, mortisque æternâ eximimur, hac etiam præmio digni censemur, ac jus vitæ æternæ accipimus eaque nobis adjudicatur.* Rom. v. 17, 18; and viii. 3, 4.—This mode of speaking did not become

common in this country, I think, till about a hundred years ago, when it obtained currency among many divines in consequence of the respect which was paid to the theological attainments of Jonathan Edwards; but it is evident that many, who to a certain extent borrowed his phraseology, did not understand his doctrine.

Calvin, referring to the words of Paul in 2 Corinthians, v. 21, says—"Justitiam et reconciliationem hic promiscue nominat, ut alterum sub altero vicissim continere intelligamus;" and soon afterwards he adds still more plainly and decidedly:—"Sic remissionem peccatorum connectit cum justitia ut idem prorsus esse ostendit." "Hence," says he, "it is that by the intervention of the righteousness of Christ alone we can be justified before God:" "*Sola intercessione justiciæ Christi nos obtinere, ut coram Deo justificemur. Quod perinde valet, ac si diceretur, hominem non in seipso justum esse, sed quia Christi justiciâ imputatione, cum illo communicatur.*" This is the doctrine of the Reformers, as expounded by one of the ablest, clearest, and most philosophical writers of the age.]

that which is not, and put their trust in damnable idolatry."

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Whoever looks into the Catholic treatises of those times will perceive it to be one of the most prominent doctrines, that there is a certain surplusage or common treasure of satisfactions in the Church,—that pious actions are both meritorious of heaven, and satisfactory for the delight taken in sinning,—that alms-deeds extinguish sin, (that is their translation of "*love covereth all sins*,")—that the work of prayer may be both meritorious to him that prays and propitiatory in the sight of God to obtain benefits to others, and that the accumulated store of merit was capable of being dispensed through the instrumentality of those to whom God hath communicated the government of his Church, or the power of binding and loosing. All these doctrines were understood to be included in the belief of the communion of saints,—concerning which Hamilton's Catechism teaches that every member of the community is "partaker of all the blessed merits of Christ, and of all the merits of saints, be faith of the sacramentis, and of all the good deeds done in the kirk, and of all their prayers and uthir werkis, and that quhasaever bydis nocht in ye unitie of yis Catholik kirk, hes nocht of the communion of sanctis, that is, he is nocht partaker of the common gud, quilk is the merits of Christ and his sanctis, and gud deidis of the Christian peopil." As long as these propositions were received as principles of divine truth, it was vain to expect that what was called faith would purify the heart, or bring forth any fruits of righteousness. One class of men was puffed up with the presumptuous expectation that their merits, being more than sufficient for their own

[Prov. x.
12.]

[Hamilton's
Catechism,
fol. xxviii.]

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salvation, were capable of expiating for the guilt of numbers ; and a far more extensive class rested listlessly in the hope of having the merits of good men so abundantly dealt out to them by the dispensing power of the Church as to secure them from all apprehension of future vengeance.

Chap. XVI.

The sixteenth chapter of the Confession treats of the Church, or that chosen company who rightly worship God by true faith in Christ Jesus. Here it is declared that "Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church, which is catholic, that is, universal, because it contains the elect of all ages and all nations, who have communion with God the Father and with his Son Christ Jesus, through the sanctification of his Holy Spirit,—and therefore it is called communion, not of profane persons, but of saints, who have the fruition of the most inestimable benefits—viz. of one God, one Lord Jesus, one faith, and one baptism. This Church is invisible, known only to God, and comprehends as well the elect that be departed (commonly called the Church Triumphant) as those that yet live, and fight against sin and Satan, and shall live hereafter."

Mr Collier is offended at the opinion that the Church consists only of the elect, and that it is invisible. Surely when the term is defined so as to exclude all except those who are to enjoy the reward of eternal life, it would be absurd to extend it to those who are unworthy of heaven, and incapable of partaking of its ineffable delights ; and though baptism has been instituted for admitting men into the visible Church, there can be no delusion more dangerous than to suppose that the outward form of initiation, or any of the other instrumental rites of religion, can convey a right to the blessedness of the faithful.

One of the sentiments contained in this article may seem to be illiberal: "Without the Church there is neither life nor eternal felicity, and therefore we utterly abhor the blasphemy of those that affirm that men that live according to equity and justice shall be saved, what religion soever they have professed." It is certainly unwarrantable in weak mortals to set limits to the inexhaustible mercy and infinite power of God. We dare not affirm that men who have lived under the darkest clouds of ignorance, and who have never heard of the name of Jesus, are necessarily consigned to future misery. But, on the other hand, we know that their "equity and justice" do not entitle them to claim any reward as a debt due to their virtue,—and if they are saved, it must be by the sovereign grace of God. We know not how small measures of faith may be counted for righteousness to those who have never seen the clear light of the gospel. To many who lived under a most obscure dispensation in the primitive ages of the world, and who saw the promises only afar off, "faith" became "the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for;" but to as many as have heard the joyful sound of salvation through Christ, it is certain that "there is no other name by which men can be saved,"—and even to those who have never heard it, there is no other influence except that of his Spirit which can renew them from dead works and seal them to the day of their redemption.

The seventeenth article, "Concerning the Immortality of the Soul," declares, in opposition to the Romish creed, that all the elect, departing in peace, enter immediately into glory, and "are delivered from all fear, temptation, and torment."

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The eighteenth head treats of the "Notes by which the true Church is discerned from the false." These are said to be neither antiquity, title usurped, lineal descent, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving an error,—but first, true preaching of the Word of God; secondly, the right administration of the sacraments; lastly, ecclesiastical discipline uprightly ministered as God's Word prescribes, whereby vice is repressed and virtue nourished. It is farther declared that the interpretation of the true doctrine neither pertaineth to any private nor public person, neither yet to any church for any pre-eminence or prerogative, personal or local, which one hath above another, but to the Spirit of God, by whom also the Scripture was written. The Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of unity, is in nothing contrary to himself. If then, the interpretation, determination, or sentence of any doctors, kirk or council, be repugnant to the plain words of God, it is certain that theirs is not the true understanding or meaning of the Holy Ghost, though councils, realms, and nations, may have approved and received the same. In the same spirit, the following chapter, "On the Authority of Scripture," affirms that such as allege the Scriptures to have no authority but that which is received from the Church, are blasphemers against God, and injurious to the true Church.

These articles have been almost as disagreeable to some episcopalian writers as they were to the most servile adherents of the Pope.^a It is thought a dan-

^a [The Church of Rome maintained that the marks or notes of the Catholic faith were three, namely, universality, antiquity, and consent. This is a very strange distribution; but it has been adopted by such English divines as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Dr Jackson, Dr Peter Heylin, and of course by the Oxford party, who indeed set out with declaring that these

gerous omission to make no mention of uninterrupted succession and conveyance of authority from the apostles. This omission has been somewhat incorrectly charged against the reformers of our Church. They do certainly mention lineal succession, but they mention it only to disown it. They say that though the Jewish priests in our Saviour's time "lineally descended from Aaron," yet no "man of sound judgment will grant that they were the Church of God." It must be farther noticed, in justice to the fathers of our national Church, that while they disallow the authority of any former councils as having a right to issue explanations of the Christian doctrines which must be universally received, they in the same voice disclaim all pretensions to determine theological questions so as to admit of no farther discussion. In presenting to the world their exposition of the Scriptures, they still declare that the Scriptures themselves are the only rule of faith, and that whatever is at variance

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Ibid.

marks belong to the Church of England rather than to the Church of Rome. In point of fact, it is as little true of the Anglo-Catholic as of the Roman Catholic Church (so named, not very consistently with common sense) that their principles possess either universality or (apostolical) antiquity or consent. The Westminster Confession promulgates substantially the same doctrine as the original Scots Confession.

I am not aware that in general it has been sufficiently brought into view that some of the passages of Scripture which are regarded as the strongest proofs of the extent of the power given to the rulers of the Church, furnish, at the same time, irresistible evidence, that so far were the apostles from being authorised to transmit all their functions to those

who came after them, that many of these, being specially adapted to the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, expired with the lives of the apostles, and were superseded by the power of the Word itself, from the time when the canon of Scripture was completed. From that period the gift of prophecy was to fail, tongues were to cease, the discerning of spirits was to vanish away. In one of the Gospels we are told that these signs were to follow them that believe,—they were in the name of Christ to cast out devils, to speak with new tongues, to take up serpents, to lay their hands on the sick and they should recover. We have no evidence that these signs were exhibited by any after Paul, the last of the apostles.]

LECT. V. with the uniform tenor of that infallible standard must necessarily be erroneous.

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Chap. XX. In the next chapter they own that General Councils lawfully assembled are entitled to respect ; but they deny the power of such councils to make perpetual constitutions—or to prescribe articles of belief—or to give authority to the word of God—or to make that to be his word, or the interpretation of the same, which was not before expressed in his word. The chief cause of general councils, they say, was to confute heresies and to give public confession of their faith by the authority of the written word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not err by reason of their general assembly ; and the only other cause of general councils was for good policy and order to be observed in the Church ; in which, as in the house of God, all things ought to be done decently and in order. But though they allowed that these were valid causes for convening such councils, they expressed their conviction that no policy or order of ceremonies could be appointed for all ages, times, and places ; for as ceremonies which men have devised are but temporal, so they may and ought to be changed when they rather foster superstition than edify the Church.

In this article and various others it is obvious that our reformers respected the rights of conscience and the privilege of private judgment. Their views of religious freedom could not be expected to be very enlarged ;^a but they did not consider themselves to be

^a [It must be admitted that for a long period, both in Scotland and in other countries, the views of individuals and societies on this subject appear to have been chiefly influenced by the condition in which they themselves were placed at the time. While the Church of Rome continued in the ascendancy, the possessors of ecclesiastical power ruthlessly exercised it,

vested with any power to act as lords over the heritage of God. Their zeal against the superstition and corruption of a falling church led them occasionally to act as if no other opinions but their own should be tolerated ; but they were not so blind as not to perceive, and not so contracted in spirit as not to acknowledge, that unless men searched the Scriptures

by inflicting the most terrible severities against all who betrayed any indications of dissent on matters of doctrine as expounded by the Church ; and, on the other hand, the minds of men not enslaved to the dominant belief, could not fail to revolt against the harsh and unrelenting proceedings to which the civil authorities were urged by those who arrogated the exclusive title to be regarded as stewards of the mysteries of faith. After the Reformation, a number of men of talents and learning, whose minds, addicted to speculation, and animated by the example of Luther and his associates, were strenuously applied to the study of Christianity, arriving at conclusions different in various respects from theirs, did not scruple to avow their peculiar views, which they conceived themselves to be as well entitled to hold and to propagate as either Luther or Zuinglius, Melancthon or Calvin. But, whoever he might be, who ventured to plead the authority of Scripture, or the deductions of reason, as being in any considerable degree opposed to the avowed principles of the leaders, was immediately denounced as having lapsed, not only into grievous error, but into decided and dangerous heresy ; and every effort was made to crush him, along with all the adherents who could not be detached from his interest. In England, as the renunciation of the yoke of Rome originated with the King, he assumed to himself the spiritual power which

had previously been exercised by the Pope ; and whether Papists or Protestants resisted his will, his vengeance was equally provoked, and his measures equally formidable. Fortified by his stern and unbending though frequently capricious determinations, the Church, of which the sovereign claimed the headship, was able to suppress almost every attempt to assert liberty, or to gain even the most moderate indulgence in favour of shades of opinion or practice in matters spiritual. An absolute uniformity of faith and of worship was required ; and Papists and Protestants were indiscriminately devoted to destruction whenever they ventured to think otherwise than was agreeable to the recognised Defender of the Faith. Soon after the death of Henry, controversies arose among the Reformers on the subject of the habits of the clergy. A vast number of the puritan ministers (between whom and the conformists there was no material difference in the great articles of doctrine), were sequestered, imprisoned, deprived of their licenses to preach, and restrained from the use of the press, in consequence of their abhorrence of what they regarded as the ministering garments of the Pope's church. The laity, who were disposed to frequent their ministrations in private, were also treated with the utmost rigour. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, the laws against Papists were turned against these people, whose dissent was originally confined to the

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for themselves, and exerted the powers of their understandings to discover what things were expressly revealed, their acquiescence in the doctrines received by the Church was altogether destitute of value, and that whatsoever was not of faith was sin.

Chap. XXI. The twenty-first chapter of the Confession relates to

imposition of copes, and surplices, and other popish garments, but gradually extended to the reformation of discipline. The Queen would never relax in the smallest particular, and her successor, James, was equally ferocious. At last, many of the most conscientious men in England found it necessary to take refuge in distant parts of the world. Not a few acquired a settlement in America, particularly in New England; and here they formed a commonwealth, under laws of their own, both civil and ecclesiastical. It is a memorable and most melancholy fact that those who for conscience sake had endured so many hardships and injuries in their native land, had not, by having long been under the rod, been trained to the exercise of forbearance and kindness. Their code of laws was not less oppressive and sanguinary than that of Draco. The Reformers in Scotland also passed severe laws against all who retained any leaning towards the doctrines and usages of the Church of Rome; and if the State had supported their views to the utmost, it is difficult to say where they would have stopped. When Episcopacy was established, after the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in the person of James VI., the bishops in Scotland as well as in England exercised no moderation or indulgence towards any of the nonconformists. After, too, the yoke of Prelacy was cast off in this country in 1638, the presbyterian Church Government was

conducted on principles which bound all their supporters to extirpate Prelacy as well as Popery. This state of things continued about twelve years; but Oliver Cromwell, during his protectorate, though his favour was shown chiefly to the Independents, professed to insist on toleration. Every one knows how ferocious was the violence with which the Presbyterians were treated after the restoration of Charles II., till the Revolution in 1688 put an end to the dominion of the bishops, as well as that of the House of Stewart. For twenty years afterwards, though a large proportion of Episcopalians continued to act as the ministers of parishes, they never ceased to complain of the oppression and persecution to which they were exposed. At last, in 1712, the legislature of Great Britain passed an Act which abolished many of the disabilities under which they laboured, and secured to them the free exercise of their worship in chapels, served by clergymen who used the English Liturgy. For twenty years before this period, the principles of toleration had been gradually gaining ground, in consequence chiefly of the writings of Mr Locke, who felt personally interested in the progress of the views which he advocated, as his own tenets were at variance in many respects with those of either of the national churches established in Great Britain, and were indeed, on the whole, allied to those of the Pollonian divines.—(1845)].

the Sacraments, which are declared to be only *two*. These two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, were instituted not only to make a visible difference between God's people and others, but also to exercise the faith of his children, and to seal in their hearts the assurance of his promise, and of that most blessed union and society which they have with their head Christ Jesus. The vanity of those who affirm the sacraments to be nothing else but bare signs is condemned. It seems that the Reformers themselves were falsely reported to have cherished this doctrine. They, therefore, strongly assert their belief that "in baptism they were ingrafted into Jesus Christ to be made partakers of his righteousness, by which their sins were remitted, and that in the supper, rightly used, Christ Jesus became the nourishment and food of their souls." They denied transubstantiation, and maintained that "the union and communion with Christ in the right use of the sacraments is wrought by the operation of the Holy Ghost, who by true faith carrieth us above all things that are visible, carnal, and earthly." All the benefits flowing from the mystical action they ascribed to true faith apprehending Jesus Christ, who alone makes his sacraments effectual. But they said that they would "neither worship the signs, in place of that which is signified by them, neither yet did they despise and interpret them as unprofitable and vain; they used them with all reverence, examining themselves diligently before they partook of them, because they were assured by the mouth of the apostle, that such as eat and drink unworthily are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus."

The next article treats of "the Right Administration of the Sacraments." Two things are declared to be

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necessary—the one, that they be ministered by lawful ministers appointed to the preaching of the word, and lawfully chosen by some church ; the other, that they be ministered in such elements and in such sort as God hath appointed, else they cease to be the right sacraments of Christ Jesus. On these grounds the doctrine of the papistical church, in participation of their sacraments, was declared to be unworthy of acceptance,—1st, Because their ministers were no ministers of Christ, and they even suffered women to baptise (though in the Scripture they are forbidden so much as to teach in the congregation) ; and, 2dly, Because they so adulterated both the one sacrament and the other with their own inventions, that no part of Christ's action abides in the original purity. The principal corruptions introduced into both the sacraments are then enumerated—such as the application of oil, salt, and other substances in baptism—the adoration of the bread in the Lord's Supper—the processions with the host—and the denial of the cup to the people.

It is farther affirmed, that to the right use of the sacraments it was requisite that the cause why they were instituted should be understood and observed, both by the minister and the receivers. I rather apprehend that in this part of their doctrine our Reformers have expressed themselves less accurately than upon almost any other subject. They conceived, not without reason, that “if the opinion be changed in the receiver the right use ceaseth, which,” they say, “is most evident by the rejection of the sacrifices ;” and they add : “Also, if the teacher plainly teach false doctrine, they are odious and abominable before God (albeit they werẽ his own ordinances),

because that wicked men use them to another end than God hath ordained." So far as this applies to the teachers themselves, it is not objectionable ; but if it be extended to the people in general, it is certainly most unwarrantable to affirm that the ignorance or errors of their teachers may intercept the benefit of divine ordinances, if they are received in faith. And, accordingly, it has always been the doctrine of our Church (though it was not so explicitly stated in the article under consideration as it was in subsequent times), that the efficacy of the sacraments does not depend on the piety or intention of him that administers them, any more than it does on any virtue inherent in the sacraments themselves ; but only upon the work of the Spirit and the blessing of our Lord Jesus Christ by whom they were instituted. To do the Catholics justice, they were not altogether so erroneous on this point as is sometimes supposed. They did not affirm that the effect of the sacraments had any dependence on the goodness or merit of him that ministered them, but, on the contrary, maintained that the evil of the minister could not prevent their efficacy. This opinion, however, was not very consistent with another of their doctrines which had been established in the Council of Florence, and from which the Council of Trent, after much discussion, did not venture to dissent—namely, that the sacraments have no force or effect whatever without the true intention of the minister. They were not, however, unanimous in this view of the subject, and the doctrine was so very uncomfortable that we cannot but be surprised at the obstinacy with which it was defended by the majority.

The doctrine of the Papists which was most stren-

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uously opposed by the compilers of the Scottish Confession was, that the priests in saying mass acted as mediators between Christ and his Church in offering to God a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the quick and the dead. This doctrine, as blasphemous to Christ Jesus, and derogatory to the sufficiency of his only sacrifice once offered for perfecting all that shall be sanctified, the Reformers utterly abhorred, detested, and renounced. Untenable as this radical error was, the divines of the Romish Church would not abandon it, though they seem to have had scarcely any other foundation for it than the prophecy of Malachi, that in every place from the rising to the going down of the sun a pure offering shall be presented to the Lord of Hosts—a prediction which evidently applies to the reasonable sacrifice of praise, and the oblations of the heart, to be rendered by all those who, not only in the land of Palestine, but in all places of the earth, were to worship the Universal Father “in spirit and in truth.”

Mal. i. 11.

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XXIII.

An additional chapter on the sacraments declares, in opposition to the Anabaptists, that Baptism appertains to the children of the faithful as well as to those that are of age and discretion, and that the Supper of the Lord pertains only to such as have been of the household of faith, and can try and examine themselves.

Chap.
XXIV.

The twenty-fourth chapter, treating of the Civil Magistrate, certainly does not attempt to abridge the powers allowed to temporal rulers by the authority of Scripture. It may justly be doubted whether the Confession does not proceed to another extreme in devolving on secular governors the reformation and purgation of religion, and the suppression of all kinds

and degrees of idolatry and superstition.^a The examples of David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, who lived under the peculiar dispensation of the Mosaic law, must be followed with some modifications by those who live under the more liberal system of the gospel. If the princes and rulers of the earth are to be the judges of what is superstition, and what is heresy, they may often, under the pretext of reforming religion, commit the most wanton oppression, and become the patrons of dangerous error, instead of protecting their subjects in the peaceable exercise of their right to worship God according to their consciences. If the magistrate, instead of following his own judgment, shall choose to be guided by the counsel of the Church, recognised by the laws of the land, what will be the benefit of this reforming power when the Church, being itself corrupt, either deprecates his in-

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^a [The words of the article on this point are:—“To Kings, Princes, Rulers, and Magistrates, wee affirme that chieflie and most principallie the conservation and purgation of the religion apperteinis; so that not onlie they are appointed for civill policie, bot also for maintenance of the trew religioun, and for suppressing of idolatrie and superstitioun whatsoever: as in David, Josaphat, Ezechias, Josias, and ntheris highlie commendit for their zeale in that caise, may be espyed.”]

The doctrine of Calvin was, that Christian magistrates and pastors ought mutually to aid each other in maintaining both the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and that though the extremes of severity and lenity were both to be shunned, there was more danger from the magistrate giving too great license and indulgence to error than from undue

rigour in punishing the adversaries of the gospel.

One of the earliest works of the Reformers, and one of the most able of those which took the Presbyterian view of this question, is the treatise of Beza, printed at Paris by R. Stephens in 1554, entitled *De Hæreticis a Civile Magistratu Puniendis Libellus adversus Martini Bellii farraginem et Novorum Academicorum sectam*.

But the doctrine of Beza, and the other Reformers, as distinguished from that of Erastus, may be best learned from what I believe to be a very rare treatise, published by the Dutch Church in London in 1647, entitled, *Thirty-two Propositions and Articles, subscribed by several Reformed Churches, and concurred in by divers godly Ministers of the city of London, drawn out of the very fountains of the Holy Scripture*. This was the republication of a Latin

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terference or leads it in a wrong direction. And it can rarely be expected that any of the constituted authorities will pay much regard to the representations of those who, exclaiming against the degeneracy of the Church, insist that it cannot be reformed without undergoing a total change. The State cannot be expected to view such projects without alarm, especially when there is a powerful hierarchy so closely linked with the fabric of government that the overthrow of the one must necessarily endanger the subversion of the other.

The last head of the Confession declares that the gifts received by every member of the Church who un-

tract published at Geneva, on the 25th of June 1568, signed by Theodore Beza and his brethren, met in their public assembly (it had also been subscribed by the churches of Berne, Lausanne, Zurich, and Heidelberg); and set forth at London in September of the same year by the consistory of the Belgio-German, or German and Dutch Church, which had been first established by Edward VI. in 1550, and after having been disallowed by Queen Mary, was restored in 1560, under the superintendence of Grindal, Bishop of London.

For the doctrine now professed by the Church on this subject, see c. xx., and c. xxiii., § 4, of the Westminster Confession. The views held by the Presbyterians, and especially by the Church of Scotland, while the Solemn League and Covenant continued in force, may be learned from a very able and ingenious work by a divine whose name, in modern days, has been sometimes mentioned rather with derision than with the respect due to his learning and piety: I refer to *A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience*, by Samuel

Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews (and Principal of the New College there), London, 1649; also from the same author's larger work, entitled, *A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist* (1648), and a prefixed *Brotherly and Free Epistle to the Patrons and Friends of Pretended Liberty of Conscience*—a production characterised by a very peculiar style of eloquence; from the works of Mr Robert Baillie of Glasgow, particularly his *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, published in 1645, containing (e.g. at p. 126, with note 6, K. 2, and p. 129) some very clear though brief statements, with regard to the difference between the Presbyterians and Independents on this matter; and above all, from the *CXI. Propositions Concerning the Ministry and Government of the Church*, approved by the General Assembly in 1647, Gillespie's *Useful Case of Conscience Discussed* (1648), and *A Solemn Testimony against Toleration and the present Proceedings of Sectaries and their Abettors in England, in reference to Religion and Government*.]

feignedly believes, are, in this life, remission of sins by faith in Christ's blood, and in the life to come a blessed resurrection and everlasting glory.

These articles were ratified by the Three Estates on the 17th of August 1560 ; but they were not recorded among the acts of Parliament till seven years afterwards. The voice of every member was required as the articles were read severally in their order. None of the bishops or abbots who adhered to Popery spoke a word. All the nobles, barons, and burgesses agreed to the Confession, with the exception of three peers, Lords Atholl, Somerville, and Borthwick, who said that they would believe as their fathers believed.

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Ratification
of the Con-
fession.[Act. Parl.
Scot. ii.
534.]

LECTURE VI.

ORIGIN OF CONFESSIONS OF FAITH — CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING THE USE OF RELIGIOUS STANDARDS — PROFESSOR DUNLOP'S VINDICATION OF THEM — PARLIAMENT ABOLISHES THE JURISDICTION AND PROHIBITS THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ROME IN SCOTLAND — COMMISSION TO DRAW UP A FORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE — REGULATIONS OF THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE ON DOCTRINE — THE SACRAMENTS — MINISTERS AND THEIR ELECTION.

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IN my last Lecture I gave an account of the principal doctrines of the Scottish Reformers, as they are exhibited in the Confession of Faith ; and I contrasted them with a production almost contemporary, which had been published only eight years before, under the direction of the highest ecclesiastical authority in the nation. My reason for bringing some passages of this rare book under your notice, was to give you an opportunity of judging how far we ought to trust to the opinions of the writers who describe it as a judicious commentary upon the Commands and the Belief, and as a work of which no divine at this day needs to be ashamed. The fact is, that it is full of the most elaborate trifling upon the gravest subjects, and that the author, instead of avoiding controverted points, very often goes out of his way to introduce the doctrines which were most offensive to the Reformers. In those passages which I read to you, I

[Keith,
Hist. p. 63.]

found it necessary to suppress various expressions, several of which were too ludicrous, and others too shocking, to be repeated in this place. I cannot imagine how it could ever have entered into the imagination of any man of sound mind, that, by the influence of teachers who were capable of no higher exertion than this, the uncorrupted doctrines of religion were ever likely to be propagated in this country, or a system of faith established which would have been as valuable as that which was submitted to the Parliament in the year 1560.

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The propriety of establishing any standards of religious belief, explanatory of the doctrine of Scripture, has often been questioned; and before passing from the consideration of the early Confession of our Church, it may be necessary to say a few words on this subject, especially with reference to the case of the Reformers.

Creeds or Confessions were originally composed for the purpose of counteracting the errors of heretics. In the earliest days of the Christian Church, the declaration made by the converts, before their admission to baptism, was simply that they believed in Jesus Christ the Son of God. In witnessing this confession they were understood to signify their acquiescence in all the books of Scripture, as having been dictated by the Spirit, and confirmed by the testimony of that divine Teacher; and thus there was no truth in the whole volume of inspiration which they did not profess themselves willing to receive as the word of Christ, and the power of God unto salvation. After the errors of Arius began to be propagated, it was thought necessary to guard with peculiar vigilance against the prevalence of a set of opinions which were

Origin of
Confessions
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defended with great keenness, and which were embraced by many professed Christians of the highest rank and influence. As the heretics appealed to Scripture as confidently as the orthodox, it was supposed that their disputations could never be terminated unless the representatives of the universal Church of Christ interposed their authority, and declared what, in their solemn and deliberate judgment, was the true meaning of the declarations of Scripture concerning the controverted points. It was for this cause that the General Council of Nice resolved to issue forth a symbol, or public testimony, to which all Christians were required to declare their accession. This creed related only to the doctrines denied by Arius, with respect to the divinity of Jesus Christ. About fifty years afterwards, the Council held at Constantinople added the remainder of what is to this day denominated the Nicene Creed, in opposition to Macedonius and his associates, who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit. The creed which is commonly ascribed to Athanasius, the contemporary and great antagonist of Arius, was not known in the Church for several ages after his death. These different forms of words did not profess to embrace all the principal heads of Christian doctrine: they comprehended only those fundamental articles which had been either denied or misrepresented. If future heresies could have been foreseen, a more enlarged view of the sum of divine knowledge would have probably been presented to the Church, unless it had been apprehended that, by thus anticipating diversities of sentiment, discussions which might otherwise remain dormant for ages, would be unseasonably pro-

A. D. 325.

A. D. 381.

voked, and that thus errors would be multiplied by the very attempt to provide against them.

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In the progress of the dark ages, the writings of the fathers and the decrees of Councils were allowed by degrees to arrogate as high a title to veneration as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Indeed, they were received with such implicit devotion as in a great measure to supersede the Scriptures. It was a matter of no moment what the inspired books contained, if the interpretations of them set forth by the Church were the sole rule of faith. No private person was allowed to explain for himself the words of eternal life,—no teacher of religion durst question the decisions of the Church. Nothing was so much dreaded as inquiry; and the choicest treasures of ancient wisdom, if they were not consigned to destruction, were concealed from vulgar eyes under the veil of unintelligible glosses. Legends and traditions were substituted for the genuine declarations of the holy oracles; though speculative divines were allowed to debate some mystical points, such exercises were rather trials of strength than means of discovering or explaining and confirming truth; and the common people were treated as if ignorance were indeed the parent of devotion.

When the Reformers disowned the authority of the Roman Church, they advanced to the contest with the written words of eternal life in their hands, and challenged their enemies to show them whence they derived their power of enslaving the understanding, and trampling on the rights of conscience. "This," they said, "is the law and the testimony by which we will be guided,—this is the light in which we will

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walk,—this is the charter of our liberties, which we will not be compelled to surrender. By this light we see clearly that the statutes imposed on us by the Pope and his councils are only the commandments of men, frail and fallible ; and to these we will not yield in opposition to the voice of heaven. We are determined to search the Scriptures, and to abide by their decisions, because we know assuredly that they have revealed with sufficient perspicuity all that it concerns human beings to know with regard to the things which belong to their peace.”

So long as the Reformers were contending merely for the liberty of dissenting from the Church of Rome, this method of avowing their belief was attended with no inconvenience. But whenever they began to form themselves into religious communities, and to aim at a legal establishment, they thought it necessary to make a formal declaration of their principles of association, or terms of Christian communion, that they might thus prevent that discord which might probably arise from the multitude of opinions. Conceiving that there could be no true fellowship, unless Christians were perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment, on all points whatsoever, they took their explanations of Scripture from the concurrent sentiments of the earliest fathers of the Christian Church, and arranged their tenets in the form of a system. If they had confined themselves at first to articles which exhibited the reasons of their separation from a corrupt church, it might have been more prudent than to proceed at once, or after very brief deliberation, to set forth a dogmatical declaration of their views on every branch of theological inquiry. But their spirits were roused by opposition ;

their partial successes added to their boldness ; the more they were defied, the more confident were they of their strength ; and of all the virtues, moderation was the least congenial to their habits.

With undue precipitancy they required all their adherents to signify their assent to systems which were hastily compiled, while their minds were heated with controversy ; and without being conscious that they were imitating to a certain degree the practices of that church which they had such good cause to reprobate, they exacted uniformity of belief with as little forbearance as if the pretended gift of infallibility had been transferred to them. No man was admitted as a public teacher who did not subscribe the articles agreed upon by the Church ; and in some societies, even the lay members were required to give the same proof of their orthodoxy. Hence innumerable dissensions. Those who, after struggling for emancipation from spiritual thralldom, found that they were not yet at liberty to follow their own judgment, spurned at the restraints which were attempted to be imposed, and contended for other terms of communion than those which their leaders prescribed. The Confessions, too, of the different Protestant churches,^a

^a I do not think it necessary to give an account of the manner in which the Augustan or Augsburg Confession was prepared, or even of the successive steps by which the more permanent standard, entitled the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, advanced to maturity. But there is little doubt that the chief merit of the composition must be ascribed to Archbishop Cranmer, who had previously written and published more than one work on the principles of the Christian faith—particularly a

Catechism or Short Instructor on Christian religion, for the profit of children and young people. Who the assistants of Cranmer were in framing the Articles (which were enjoined by the king's authority in 1552) does not appear to be very minutely known ; but there can be little doubt that Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Immanuel Tremellius, and Paul Fagius, all of whom, with not a few others, were greatly indebted to him for his protection and munificent services, had contributed to the completion of the work. The

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were not altogether uniform ; and the papists took advantage of these inconsiderable dissimilarities to throw discredit upon the exertions of the Reformers —of whom it was alleged that, in their attempts to construct a system founded on the Scriptures, they differed as much from one another as from the Church of Rome, whose authority they had renounced. To disprove these allegations, the Protestants of France and the Netherlands published a Harmony of the principal reformed Confessions. Similar works have been published at different periods, but without convincing the world that the unanimity of the different churches was complete.

Controversies respecting the use of religious standards.

The earlier objections to Confessions have in later times been renewed in various forms. For more than one hundred years past, subscription to the Articles of the Church of England, and to the Westminster Confession of Faith, has been objected to by many professed Christians, both of the Episcopalian and Presbyterian persuasions, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. With regard to the Presbyterians, it is well known that the scruples on the subject of the Confession were started first by those English dissenters whose conceptions of Christian doctrine were far from being Calvinistic. Baxter^a had been anxious to frame a

original Confession of the Church of Scotland was published about seven or eight years after the publication of the Thirty-nine Articles, and was intended to harmonise with the confessions previously promulgated by other Churches of the Reformation, particularly that of Geneva, which, however, is much more compendious.

· a [The denomination *Baxterian*, as distinguishing a particular form of doctrine, has come into such general use that every one is aware of the

latitudinarian tendencies of Richard Baxter's mind on certain material points. In 1689, when, by the Toleration Act, all dissenting ministers of the denominations tolerated were required to subscribe the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England, he drew up an explication of some of the clauses of the Thirty-nine Articles, which he considered ambiguous. This document, which he personally produced at the time of his subscription, is printed in Calamy's *Abridgement of his Life and*

system for reconciling the discordant views of Calvin and Arminius on the subject of redemption and justification; and a majority of the Presbyterians in England acquiesced in his sentiments. Dr Williams, an eminent Presbyterian divine, approximated more nearly to Calvinism than Baxter had done, but he fell into a conceit which has been named Neonomianism, because the favourite notion for which he contended was this, that the gospel dispensation is a new law. Soon afterwards very many of the Presbyterians in England manifested an attachment to Arian tenets, and the leaders of this numerous body (including Mr Peirce of Exeter) had influence enough with their brethren to prevail on them to discontinue subscription to the Westminster Confession.^a

Times [vol. i., p. 469], and though singularly inexplicit for a man who was capable of speaking and writing more clearly and vigorously than most of his contemporaries, shows sufficiently how far he was from receiving the Articles in the Calvinistic sense. He appears at this time to have been at particular pains to prevent his opinions from being intelligible. But it was his avowed object at all times to restrain himself and others from proceeding to extremes. "In the differences between the Arminians and anti-Arminians, he perceived it to be hard to find a man that discerned the true state of the several controversies, and that when unrevealed points are laid aside, and the controversies about words justly separated from those about things, the differences about things which remained were fewer and smaller than most of the contenders would believe. Nay, the doctrinal differences with the Papists he found very much darkened, and seldom well stated. In the points of merit, justification, assurance of sal-

vation, perseverance, grace, free-will, misunderstanding was common, and just distinctions very rare. Upon the whole, he fixed in this conclusion, that he who would preserve the welfare of the Church must do his best to promote all the truth and good which was held by every party, and to leave out all their errors and their evil, and not take up all that any party had espoused as their own. And, indeed, there was not a party in which there was not something he disliked, as erroneous and evil." (*Abridgement*, vol. i., p. 113). Calamy also mentions that when, in the time of Cromwell, Baxter was a member of a committee appointed by the Parliament "to draw up *in terminis* the Articles of Religion," he was disposed to be satisfied with the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as containing "all the essentials of Christianity necessary for salvation." —(Ib. p. 121.).

^a [The prevalence of heterodoxy in the ranks of the representatives of the Puritans at this period is not without

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Nearly about the same time the Presbyterians and other Protestant dissenters in Ireland, chiefly such as had imbibed the principles of Arianism and Arminianism, struggled to cast off the yoke of subscription, which they said could not be imposed without setting up in the Church an exorbitant and arbitrary power, contrary to the essential rights of natural equity, eversive of Christian discipline, a snare to conscience, and destructive of the liberties of Christians. The celebrated John Abernethy was one of the great supports of this faction ; and the artful and ingenious Emlyn powerfully advocated the same cause. From the period to which I now refer (1720) the Presbyterians both in England and Ireland have generally been distinguished by principles very different from those which characterised the Nonconformists of the preceding age.

Mr Dun-
lop's vind-
ication of
Confessions
of Faith.

The numerous publications in England on this subject, and particularly the periodical work called the Occasional Paper (begun about the year 1716, and carried on by Mr Moses Lowman, Mr Grosvener, and Mr Evans) had considerable influence on the minds of several members of the Church of Scotland ; and with a view to counteract this impression, Mr Dunlop, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh, was prevailed on to prepare

explanation. Between the restoration of Charles II. and the passing of the Toleration Act on the 21st of May, 1689, the young men who aimed at the ministry of the gospel among the English Nonconformists, or Protestant Dissenters (as they were afterwards called), were generally constrained to study divinity under such ministers or theological tutors, in different parts of England, as undertook

the charge of private establishments for that purpose, on a very limited scale. There was no superintending authority to provide for the completeness of their education, or to secure even an approach to uniformity of doctrine ; and there is reason to apprehend that a considerable proportion of the number were very inadequately instructed].

an account of the ends and uses of Creeds and Confessions of Faith, and a defence of their justice, reasonableness, and necessity as a public standard of orthodoxy.

This work, characterised by no small share of ability, was prefixed to an edition of the Westminster Confession of Faith, printed at Edinburgh in 1719. Mr Dunlop classed the purposes designed by the churches to be promoted by their confessions, under three heads: 1. Some of a general nature, having a regard not only to the body of Christians, but to all men, foes as well as friends; 2. Some which respected the ministers of the gospel, who were obliged to declare their assent to the doctrines contained in them; 3. Some which “respected the whole body of the people as well as the ministers, but which were particularly calculated for the members of that church to which the confession belonged, and had a special regard to them more than to the whole world, or to other Christians who were members of other churches.” Under the first head he stated that they were calculated to promote three principal ends: *First*, To publish a fair and authentic account of the doctrines which the churches maintained, so as to wipe off the aspersions thrown on them by adversaries. This was particularly the view of the fathers of the primitive Church and the leaders of the Reformation. *Secondly*, To show that, so far from being ashamed of the gospel, they gloried in it as their dearest privilege, solemnly expressing their gratitude to God for bringing them to the knowledge of the truth. And, *Thirdly*, To maintain a good understanding among the Christian churches, and increase brotherly love by showing in how many momentous articles they agree. The

[Dunlop's
Confessions,
Vol. I.
Preface,
p. vi.]

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VI.[Dunlop's
Confessions,
Preface, p.
xxxiv.]

second general end mentioned by Mr Dunlop is to secure the purity of Christian doctrine from the many contagious heresies which have infected the Church in all ages,—and to discover who should be admitted into the communion of saints, or continued in the sacred office of the ministry. In all ages, creeds and confessions have been thus used as a test of orthodoxy.

[Ib. p. cxxx.
&c.]

With regard to the third general end,—which relates to all the members of a particular church,—it may be subdivided into four branches : *First*, Thus the people are provided with a short and useful summary of the doctrines of religion. *Secondly*, Thus the spreading of errors among the people may be obstructed. *Thirdly*, Thus the churches may transmit their testimony to the truth to their latest posterity ; and, *lastly*, Thus an authentic and impartial account of the doctrine of the several churches may be preserved to future times, so as to prevent historical misrepresentation.

[Ib. p. lviii.
&c.]

Mr Dunlop has been at great pains to refute the most plausible objections against confessions. The chief of these are two : 1. That they are an arbitrary and tyrannical invasion on the natural rights of mankind ; 2. That they are the most injurious reflection on the Scriptures, which, being absolutely perfect, must be necessarily sufficient for all the purposes of religion.

On these objections the remarks of Mr Dunlop are ingenious and striking ; and he is especially happy in his observations on the plea of those who insist that no words or phrases should be made use of in confessions, except such as correspond exactly with the language of the sacred writings. On this last subject it is almost sufficient to say, that subscription to what are called the express words of Scripture

amounts merely to a preference of a particular version of certain passages to all others. Mr Dunlop produces, as an instance, Rom. ix. 5, which, according to one version, is thus rendered: "Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever;" and according to another: "Of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, God who is over all be blessed for ever." The latter would be cheerfully signed by a Socinian, but not the former.

Mr Lowman, an English Presbyterian of great eminence, published an answer to Mr Dunlop's preface, which was conceived by all the non-subscribers in England and Ireland to be much too bigoted, and inconsistent with toleration and freedom of thought. On the other hand, this account of the uses of confessions was far from being universally satisfactory throughout the Church of Scotland. In particular, two very determined and somewhat violent pamphlets were published against it in the year 1722, maintaining that the author omitted or waived all the best arguments for the use of the Confession of Faith, trusting rather to carnal reasonings than to proofs drawn from the Word of God. It was alleged also that his scheme justified the establishment of societies of Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Arians, and other propagators of error. The character of Dunlop's preface was strongly pressed on the attention of the General Assembly at a time when the majority of members did not possess the entire confidence of the more serious part of the community. After the matter had been several years under the consideration of committees and of the Commission of Assembly, the General Assembly virtually disclaimed the preface, declaring that though it was written in general for an excellent design, it was

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not compiled or prefixed by the order of a judicatory of this Church.^a

It need only be added, in so far as the early Reformed churches were concerned, that whatever their views might be of the necessity or expediency of confessions, many of them had no choice. An exposition of their principles was demanded of them. The work was not spontaneously undertaken, but imposed as one of the conditions of their obtaining a legal establishment. It was so in particular with the leaders of the Reformation in this country. The Parliament required them (as we have seen) to prepare and present a compendious abstract of the principles of doctrine which they maintained, and wished to be established, as being founded on the Word of God. And they felt it was their duty, as well as their interest, thus to gain the co-operation of the Government, without which they knew they could have no prospect of enjoying the privileges of a church.

Aug. 24.
Parliament
abolishes
the jurisdic-
tion, and
prohibits
the worship

To return to the progress of the new opinions, the Parliament not only approved the Confession, but the next week enacted that the power and jurisdiction of the Pope should never again be acknowledged in Scot-

^a Wodrow appears, from his correspondence, to have been displeased with the opposition to Dunlop's preface; but Wodrow's judgment was not very enlightened. Many important questions are involved in the controversy relating to confessions of faith, into which we cannot at present enter. Some of them have been considered at great length in the various treatises which were occasioned by the publication of Archdeacon Blackburne's work, entitled *The Confessional*. The ablest of the tracts which arose out of this controversial work were those of Dr Rutherford, Dr

Powell, Dr Balguy on the side favourable to subscription. The arguments on the opposite side may be said to have been almost exhausted by Blackburne and by Mr Dyer in his *Inquiry into the Nature of Subscription into the Thirty-nine Articles*. Dr Hey, the Norrisian Professor at Cambridge, in his *Lectures*, has treated the question with some degree of flippancy, which might give a colour to the supposition that his own attachment to the Articles was not very strong.—From Milner's *Life of Isaac Watts* (p. 435), it appears that Mr John Reynolds was a contributor to the *Occasional Papers*.

land,—that all acts in favour of the Roman Church should be henceforth annulled,—and that all who assisted or were present at the celebration of mass should be punished, in the first instance, by confiscation of goods, in the second, by banishment from the kingdom, and in the third, by death. This severe statute was never executed, so far as I have been able to learn,—and probably it was never intended to be executed in its full extent.^a It was passed in conformity with a notion which the Reformers believed to be indisputable,—that the provisions of the law of Moses against idolatry were all applicable to every Christian kingdom and commonwealth. They did not doubt that temporal penalties might be inflicted on men for their errors in religion, but their humanity restrained them from rigorously acting on this principle, and they were more anxious to gain proselytes by argument and gentle persuasion than by compulsory measures.

After the Parliament was dissolved (as Knox informs us) “consultation was had how the Church might be established in a good and godly policy, which by the Papists was altogether defaced. Commission was given to Mr John Wynram, sub-prior of St Andrews, Mr John Spotswood, parson of Calder, John Willock,

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of the
Church of
Rome in
Scotland.
[Act. Parl.
Scot. ii.
534.]

Commission
appointed
to draw up
a form of
discipline.
[Knox,
Hist.,
p. 256.]

^a [In some respects our Scottish Reformers were too tolerant. In opposition to their own convictions, they suffered popish bishops to sit in Parliament, and to retain the patronage of universities; and what was the result? Six years after the Reformation, all the professors of Aberdeen continued to teach popish doctrines; and several of those at St Andrews (kindred of Archbishop Hamilton, who founded a college for the express purpose [*supra*, p. 93] of checking the progress of the Reformation)

continued to hold their offices as long as he lived, twelve years after the Reformation, professing to be Protestants, but doing all that they could to pervert their pupils,—till at last, on their detection, two of them fled to France, where they not only wrote most calumnious books against the Reformers, but imbrued their hands in the blood of Protestants, having taken a most active part in the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, and other atrocities.—(*Report of Speech in Presbytery of Edinburgh, 1829.*)]

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[Spotswood,
174.]

formerly a Franciscan friar, Mr John Douglas, rector of the University of St Andrews, Mr John Row (hitherto a priest at Perth), and John Knox, to delineate a form of discipline or government for the Church, as they had already put in order the system of doctrine." Though Spotswood has said that it was written by John Knox, we may presume that Knox himself knew much better who the authors were. When these divines had accomplished their work, they put it into the hands of the nobility, many of whom gave it a careful perusal. Some of them wished it to receive the sanction of the Legislature, but a considerable number opposed it from the most sordid motives of worldly interest. It was, however, subscribed by many of the nobles, who promised to support it to the utmost of their power, on condition that the bishops, abbots, friars, and other prelates and benefited persons, should be allowed to enjoy their revenues during their lives, subject to the burden of sustaining the ministers of the gospel.

[Spotswood,
Hist., p.
152.]

The First Book of Discipline is perhaps less correctly known than the original Confession of our Church.^a It has often been printed along with some of the other papers relating to our Church, but I do not think that there is a correct copy inserted in any of our histories which are most generally read. Archbishop Spotswood, indeed, professes to insert it, "word

^a [The copy inserted in the collection known by the title of Dunlop's Confessions, is, I think, one of the most accurate. . . . I very much question if an [altogether] correct copy of the First Book of Discipline be in existence. The book which passes by that name appears to be an awkward translation into English. The style is more modern than that

of the second book ; and it must have struck most people who have looked at the titles to be somewhat remarkable that the first book should be called "*The Book of the Policie and Discipline of the Church*," and the second, "*The Buik of the Policie of the Kirk*." — (*Evidence, Select Committee on Patronage.*)]

by word." Some later writers have carelessly believed him, and have fallen into the unaccountable inaccuracy of taking their accounts of this book from what they conceived to be a complete copy, according to Spotswood's statement, of the document known as the First Book of Discipline, though the language of it is changed in almost every paragraph, and though some of the first articles are so much shortened that a folio page is compressed into four lines. His account might almost appear to have been intended for the purpose of misleading negligent inquirers.

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The first head of the original Book of Discipline treats of Doctrine, and requires that the Gospel may be truly and openly preached in every church and assembly of the realm, and that all doctrine repugnant to the same be utterly repressed, as damnable to man's salvation. By preaching of the Gospel, the Reformers meant not only the Scriptures of the New Testament, but also the law, prophets, and histories of the Old, in which Christ Jesus is no less contained in figure than we have him now expressed in verity. By the contrary doctrine they understood whatsoever men have imposed upon the consciences of men without the expressed commandment of God's Word, such as the "superstitious observation of fasting days, prayer for the dead, feasts of the apostles, martyrs, and others, which they judged ought to be utterly abolished.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
I. Of Doc-
trine.

The second head relates to Sacraments. It is declared that the sacraments are then rightly ministered when by a lawful minister the people, before partaking, are plainly instructed concerning the end and uses of the sacraments, and when nothing is altered from the institution of Christ, and the practice of his apostles.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
II. The Sa-
craments.

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Book of
Common
Order.

It is stated that the Order of Geneva, which was then used in some of their churches, was sufficient to instruct the diligent reader how both the sacraments may be rightly administered. Yet, that uniformity might be observed in all churches, there are added some further instructions. The Order of Geneva is a book well known under different names. Sometimes it is called Knox's Liturgy,^a or, more commonly, The Book of Common Order, and is prefixed to the metrical version of the Psalms formerly used in the Church of Scotland. It contains—1st, The Confession of Faith used in the English congregation at Geneva, of which Knox had been minister, and which was approved by our Church,—a confession much shorter than that which was presented to the parliament, and afterwards ratified. It contains also the order of electing ministers, elders, and deacons, with their different offices and duties, an order for interpretation of the Scriptures, the form of electing the superintendent, an order of ecclesiastical discipline, various forms of confession and prayer, the form of marriage, and, among many other matters, directions for the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These instructions concerning the mode of celebrating the sacraments are given at great length—but it appears from the Book

^a [Knox probably had no share in the composition. The earlier and the later editions differ considerably, not so much in the general character of the devotions, as in the number which was required to be observed. The earlier editions contain a greater number of prayers than are found in the latest, and the Psalms in verse, which in some of the earliest are from Sternhold and Hopkins, were in some later editions partly translated by Scottish

divines. The prayers, and other offices, are excellent specimens of devotional language; but it was never understood that ministers were to be limited to the precise forms contained in the book; though the Readers (who were merely temporary officers) were not suffered to depart from them. In the case of ministers, a discretionary power is given to use other words to the same effect, or as is sometimes said, "such like words."]

of Discipline that the Church did not think it necessary to comply with the Book of Common Order in every particular.

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In Baptism, after preaching the Word and declaring the promises of God, it was thought sufficient to apply the element of water, and it was declared that whoever presumed to alter Christ's perfect ordinance by human inventions ought to be severely punished.

Baptism.

Concerning the Supper, the Reformers declared that the table of the Lord is then most rightly ministered when it approacheth most near to Christ's own action.

The Lord's
Supper.

Because Jesus is said in the Gospels to have sat with his disciples, they judged sitting at a table most convenient or suitable to that solemnity. It has been objected to this reason that Jesus and the disciples did not sit at the last Supper, but reclined, after the manner of the Romans and later Jews. Though it may be admitted that the words *ἀνάκειμαι ἀναπιπτω*, *ἀνακλινω* and *κατακλινω*, are all applied to the reclining attitude most commonly observed in the oriental banqueting-houses about the time of our Saviour, it does not follow that sitting at the table of the Lord is a less appropriate posture in modern times. If our Saviour conformed to the customs of the people among whom he lived, at his ordinary meals, and if he did not deviate from the usual mode of eating and drinking when he instituted the sacred festival of the Supper, it may be fairly concluded, that if the custom of sitting at meat had continued in his days to be preferred by his countrymen as it had been in ancient times, he would also have adopted it. For this reason the Church of Scotland, like that of Geneva, was entitled to appoint the communicants at

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the Lord's table to dispose themselves in that decent posture which in modern times has been found most convenient at regular meals. The sacrament of the Supper is a social ordinance, in which all the partakers, simultaneously receiving the visible signs, are taught to consider themselves as members one of another,—and the representation of this close communion is certainly much more complete when they sit together eating the same bread and drinking the same cup, like guests who are hospitably entertained at the table of a friend, than when they successively kneel at the altar to receive individually from the hand of the priest the consecrated symbols. The gesture of kneeling is not necessarily superstitious ; but it had been originally introduced from superstitious views, and had been so much abused as, in the opinion of the Reformers, to amount to idolatry. It was therefore highly commendable in them to restore the form of receiving to its original simplicity ; and, indeed, they could never have expected to rectify the views of the people in general with regard to the true nature and intention of the ordinance, unless they had strongly marked to the senses, by a change in the outward form, the views which ought to be entertained of the commemoration of Christ's death, not as a sacrifice, but as a holy festival appointed for the nourishment and comfort of the soul.

In the whole of their directions concerning the administration of the Supper, the aim of the compilers of the Book of Discipline was to approach as near as possible to Christ's own action. Thanks were to be given ; the bread and the wine distributed by the minister to those who were near him, and reverently passed from one to another at the table ; Scriptures

[Book of
Common
Order,
Dunlop, ii.
p. 53.]

relating to the death of Christ were to be read or recited, to bring to mind the benefits arising from that great event ; and the service was to conclude with thanksgiving and praise.

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1560.

The third head of the Discipline required the abolition of Idolatry,—by which were understood the mass, invocation of saints, adoration of images, and all unauthorised methods of doing honour to God.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
III. Abolition of
Idolatry.

The fourth head related to Ministers and their lawful election.

The fundamental principle was that none ought either to preach or to administer the sacraments without being regularly called. Ordinary vocation consisted in election, examination, and admission. Every congregation had a right to call its own minister ; but if the election was neglected forty days, the Church might present to them a man apt to feed the flock, who was to be examined, not only concerning his knowledge, but also concerning his life and manners. The person chosen or presented was to give declaration of his gifts by interpreting some place of Scripture appointed by the ministry, in presence of the congregation. He was also to be examined openly in all the chief points in controversy between the Reformed and the Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, or other enemies to the Christian religion. If he gave satisfactory proof of his ability and soundness in the faith, he was next to deliver several public sermons before the flock to which he was nominated, expounding the doctrine of justification, the offices of Christ, the number, effect, and use of the sacraments, and other articles of religion which had been corrupted by the Papists. If his doctrine proved wholesome and instructive, and his life irreproachable, the Council of the Church were to ap-

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
IV. Election of Ministers.

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VI.

1560.

point him to be placed in the congregation which before was destitute, unless it had chosen a man better or equally well qualified before this trial was taken. No man was to be violently intruded on a congregation; but it was not considered violent intrusion to appoint a sufficiently qualified instructor to those who neglected to choose one for themselves, provided "they should not be forced to admit him before just examination."^a

No person noted with public infamy, or unable to edify the Church, was to be either promoted to the government of the Church or retained in ecclesiastical administration. That the life of the person presented might be clearly known, public edicts were to be directed to all the places of the realm where he had been most conversant, and strict charge was to be given that none should conceal his sins so as to deceive and betray the Church.

Their admission.

The admission of ministers was to be in open audience. A sermon was to be first preached by a minister appointed for the purpose, concerning the pastoral office and duties, and the submission due by churches to the ministers of the gospel. The minister was to be charged to attend with all diligence upon the flock, and to walk in the presence of God, that his life might confirm what he taught by his words. The people

^a [I do not perceive that the system laid down by the First Book of Discipline with respect to the appointment of ministers actually came into operation. I find, from the first, that ministers were admitted on presentations. At the very first meeting of the General Assembly in 1560, a number of persons are named as being found by the ministers and commissioners apt and able to minister. Some

are mentioned in one district, and some in another; and among those persons occurs this name: "Mr John Ramsay, presented by Sir John Borthwick, as minister for the kirks of Aberdour and Torrie." I find throughout the books that presentations by the King and by other patrons were uniformly acted upon.—(*Evidence before Committee on Church Patronage, 1834.*)]

were to be exhorted to honour and reverence their ministers, and to obey the commandments which they pronounced from God's word. It is then added,—“Other ceremonie then the public approbation of the people, and declaration of the chiefe minister [or of him who presided on this occasion], that the person there presented is appointed to serve the church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we judge not necessarie.” (Imposition of hands was, however, not many years afterwards, adopted by our Church.)

The minister elected and publicly admitted was not to leave his flock at his pleasure; neither yet might the flock “change him at their appetite,” unless they could convict him of crimes deserving deposition. By this regulation, it was not meant that the Church might not transfer a minister from one station to another; or that men who served in the mean time out of pure “benevolence,” might not be appointed to other places; but that those who were once solemnly chosen and admitted might not alter their residence at their own pleasure.

The proposers of the Book of Discipline next declared that the rarity of godly and learned men was on no account to be sustained as a reason for omitting strict and sharp examination in all cases whatsoever. In their opinion it was, in some respects, worse to have an insufficient minister than to have no minister at all, because they who were destitute would search after pastors, but those who had “a vain shadow” were too apt to content themselves with him, and “to think that they had a minister, when in very deed they had none.” They entreated the great council of the nation to in-

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1560.

terpose its authority to oblige able men to labour not only in one place, but in as many places as they were able to supply, and to assign to the chief workmen not only towns to remain in, but also provinces, that by their faithful labours churches might be erected and order established.

The next divisions of the First Book of Discipline relate to two orders of teachers whose offices, according to some, were only temporary, and, according to others, were intended to be permanent.

LECTURE VII.

THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE (CONTINUED)—READERS AND SUPERINTENDENTS—PROVISION FOR MINISTERS AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THE CHURCH—SUPERINTENDENTS TEMPORARY OFFICE-BEARERS—STATIONS OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS—THEIR DUTIES—MODE OF THEIR ELECTION—FUNCTIONS EXERCISED BY THEM WHICH WERE NOT RECOGNISED IN THE FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE—BISHOP SAGE'S INSTANCES OF DISPARITY BETWEEN SUPERINTENDENTS AND OTHER MINISTERS.

HAVING begun in the last Lecture a general account of the principal matters contained in the First Book of Discipline, I shall now proceed to lay before you a brief statement of the remaining heads of it. It is not very methodically arranged; but I find it more convenient to follow the order of the book itself than to reduce it to a more regular form.

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We have seen that in the provisions which the compilers of this book recommended for the purpose of securing to the nation the benefits of religious instruction, they were anxious not only to obtain at first as great a number of able preachers as possible, but also to guard with the strictest vigilance against the admission of men of inferior qualifications and questionable characters. They might have found numbers willing to undertake the pastoral office, and not likely to disgrace it by their scandalous lives. But they

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
IV. (con-
tinued.)

LECT. VII. would not admit any man to the ministry of whose sufficiency they had not ample proof.

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Readers and
Superintendents.

So long, however, as the number of learned and diligent teachers was inconsiderable, it occurred to them that they might keep alive the feelings of devotion, and awaken a desire for religious knowledge among the mass of the people, by some temporary arrangements. They could not undertake to assign fixed ministers except to a few of the principal towns. But as they conceived that some of the ends of a regular ministry might in the mean time be attained by expedients, to which, in more favourable circumstances, it would not have been necessary to resort,—they proposed, first, that to the churches where ministers could not be had immediately must be appointed the most apt men that could distinctly read the Scriptures and the Common Prayers; and, secondly, that ministers of the highest attainments should be required to labour not merely in a single congregation, but throughout an extensive province. The first-mentioned class of men were called Readers, and the second Superintendents.

The “Common Praiers” which were to be used by the Readers, must have been the forms of the Church of Geneva, previously mentioned in the chapter relating to the Sacraments; though some authors, and particularly the writer^a of an Episcopalian treatise, entitled, *The Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined and Disproved*, would have us to believe that the “Common Praiers” were the English Liturgy. If it were so, it is rather remarkable that the Book of

[Sage's
Fund. Ch.
of Presby.,
pp. 164-
168.]

^a [Dr Sage, one of the most bigoted, rash, and inaccurate of the Episcopalian ministers in this country a hundred and fifty years ago, whose writings were, in almost every particular, triumphantly refuted by Mr Anderson, minister at Dumbarton. (1746). See also next note.]

Discipline takes no notice of the English Liturgy, while it expressly refers to the Order of Geneva as being followed in some of the churches ; and we can scarcely suppose that the veneration of our Reformers for the English Liturgy had been very great (though Knox had been consulted concerning its composition), or else they would not have so soon relinquished it as they did.^a

The Readers were to be encouraged to exercise their talents, so that they might in due time attain to a farther degree ; but they were not to be allowed to preach or to administer the sacraments till they gave satisfactory proof of their increase of knowledge ; and even those who had acted as preachers, but were found imperfectly qualified, were to be reduced to the station of readers. In those days it would have been deemed gross impiety to yield so far to the impulse of spurious compassion, or personal favour, or the solicitation of friends, as to permit men to undertake the important functions of ambassadors of Christ, who were not fit for any of those employments which re-

^a Dr Heylin, one of the great oracles of the Episcopalian party, in his *History of the Presbyterians*, says that the new forms of their own devising were the Common Prayers, which were to be read every day, "except on the days of public preaching, when they were to be forborne, that the preacher's own prayer before and after sermon might not be despised or disrespected."—*Hist. of the Presbyterians*, (1670), p. 160. This account does not tally well with the assumption of Mr Sage, that the views of the Scottish Reformers, with respect to divine worship, were entirely consonant with those of the Church of England. [The Common Prayer-Book of the Church of England was

never adopted by the Church of Scotland. It might be used sometimes in families at the beginning of the Reformation, and possibly in congregations not provided with any other books of the kind ; but the only book authorised by the General Assembly was the Book of Common Order, first used by the English Church at Geneva. On the questions concerning liturgies in general, and particularly on the English Liturgy and its use in Scotland, I would recommend a series of tracts known to have been written by Mr Anderson in 1711 and 1712, entitled, *Dialogues between a Curate and a Countryman*, and *The Countryman's Letter to the Curate*.]

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1560.

quire the exercise of the most ordinary measure of intelligence. I am far from thinking that they were too strict. It would have been well for the cause of reformation if they had excluded a still greater number, or if they had not relaxed from the rigour of their original regulations.

[Booke of
the Univer-
sal Kirk, p.
513.]

It may be mentioned here, that it was found extremely difficult to restrain the readers to their allotted sphere. Many of them ventured to usurp the ministerial duties; and the General Assembly found it necessary, on different occasions, to discharge them to administer the sacraments, or to celebrate marriages, and at last, in 1581, it was concluded by an unanimous vote of the Assembly, that no person should henceforth be admitted to that office. For many years afterwards, however, the name both of readers and of exhorters occurs in the registers of kirk-sessions, and in other authentic records. The exhorters were such of the readers as, having advanced farther in knowledge than the others, or at least possessing the faculty of utterance in a greater degree, were allowed by the Church to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the Scriptures. In some towns there were readers of both degrees at the same time.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
V. Distri-
bution of
the Posses-
sions of the
Church.

The fifth head of the First Book of Discipline relates to "the Provision for the Ministers, and the Distribution of the Rents and Possessions justly appertaining to the Church."

This chapter is rather misplaced, being interposed between the divisions of the different orders of church officers. It contains much sound sense; but it shows how difficult it is to make prospective arrangements to which it will be practicable to adhere. The authors

considered it necessary that such honourable provision should be made for the ministers that they might neither have occasion of solicitude nor be tempted to insolency and wantonness. This provision was to be made not only for their own support, but also for their wives and children after them, according to the discretion of the Church. Whatever might be the meaning of this expectation, it was one which could not have been fulfilled, unless the Church had obtained a much larger patrimony than was conceded to it by the Government. It was not proposed to assign equal stipends to all the ministers, because their charges and their necessities must unavoidably vary. "For," it is said, "some will be continuers in one place, some will be compelled to travel and oft to change their dwelling-place, if they shall have charge of divers kirks. Among these some will be burdened with wife and children, and one with more than others, and some perhaps will be single men. If equal stipends should be appointed to these that in charge should be so unequall, either should the one suffer penurie, or else should the other have superfluitie. We judge, therefore, that every minister have sufficient whereupon to keep an house, and be sustained honestly in all things necessarie, as bookes, cloathes, flesh, fish, fewel, . . . of the rents and treasure of the kirk at the discretion of the congregation, conform to the quality of the person and necessity of the time." (By the quality of the person is probably meant the official consequence which he possessed, as being minister of a more or less eminent church, or as being appointed to superintend a district of churches.) It was thought that every minister should have *at least* 40 bolls meal and 26 bolls malt, to find his house bread and drink,

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VII.1560.
Provision
for Minis-
ters.

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1560.

and more, so much as the discretion of the Church might find necessary, besides money for procuring provision for his house and other necessities; the modification of which was to be referred to the judgment of the Kirk, to be made every year at the choosing of the elders and deacons of the Kirk; providing always that there be advanced to every minister sufficient provision for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things. To him who was to travel from place to place, or, in other words, to the Superintendent, who was to “remain a month or less in one place for establishing of the Kirk, and for the same purpose changing to another,” it was thought that (6 chalders) 96 bolls of barley, (9 chalders) 144 bolls of meal, (3 chalders) 48 bolls of oats, and 600 merks of money, “to be eiked and paired [increased and diminished] at the discretion of the Prince and Council of the realm,” should be paid in the same manner.

The value of the grain allotted to the superintendent, according to the present prices,^a would be nearly £500 sterling. The value of the 600 merks may be estimated, when it is taken into consideration that by Archbishop Hamilton’s foundation of this college, dated seven years before the time of which we are treating, the salaries of several of the masters did not exceed one-tenth part of the sum now mentioned, and that the whole allowances proposed in this Book of Discipline to be given to a principal of a college or a professor of divinity amounted only to one-half of the money paid to a superintendent, in addition to his allocation of grain. Spotswood says that the 48 bolls of oats was given for provender to the super-

[Nova
Fundatio
Collegii
Mariani.
(25th Feb.
1553.)]

[Spotswood,
157.]

^a [Jan. 16, 1817. See Appendix, money at the era of the Reformation. No. VII., for the value of Scots —ED.]

intendent's horse. At that rate it must be owned that they did not muzzle his mouth, as his portion was considerably more than was granted to the support of an ordinary minister and his whole family. But the Archbishop, or the publisher of his book, must have discovered this appropriation of the oats somewhere else than in the original document. He has perhaps been of the opinion of the English lexicographer, who did not know how else to explain oats than by calling it food for horses. Spotswood has not only made a number of alterations on this, as on most other parts of the Book of Discipline, but (for what reason I do not know) he has taken care, in all the alterations, to represent the allowances of the ministers and superintendents as less than they really were. Thus he says 500 merks money instead of 600—20 bolls of malt instead of 26 ; and in stating the quantity of grain granted to the ministers, he omits to mention that this was the very least which was intended to be given, thus leading his readers to conclude that it was the average quantity. On the other hand, Dr Cook remarks that “the Reformers evidently wished the ministers to be hospitable : for their own families could not require the 20 (he might have said 26) bolls of malt which were to be assigned to each of them.” I am not sufficiently acquainted with the processes of malting and brewing to be able to judge how far this quantity of malt would go in supporting a hospitable table ; but I suspect that the hospitality which was supplied from the stipend of an ordinary minister must have consisted rather in drinking than in eating, if the whole grain allowed for his maintenance and that of his wife and children and domestics, as well as for the entertain-

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VII.

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[History
of the Re-
formation,
ii. 402.]

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1560.

ment of strangers, was a good deal less than is said to have sufficed to feed the superintendent's horse. "What! but one halfpenny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack." I need not add that there is more of fancy than of reality in the notion of clerical conviviality in the days of John Knox, though we know that the Reformer himself sometimes had a hogshead of wine in his cellar.

After stating what appeared to be a reasonable maintenance for the superintendents and ministers, it is next suggested as a proper regulation, that the children of ministers should have the liberties of the cities adjacent to the places where their fathers laboured freely bestowed on them,—that they should have the privileges in schools, and bursaries in colleges, if they were found apt for learning,—and if they had no such turn, that they should be put to some handicraft, or exercised in virtuous industry. Some provision is also recommended to be made for their daughters; and then it is added (in words which have not been correctly reported by all our historians)—“And this, in God's presence we witnesse, we require not so much for ourselves, or for any that appertaine to us, as that we do it for the increase of vertue and learning, and for the profite of the posterity to come. It is not to be supposed that any man will dedicate himselfe and his childrene so to God and to his kirk, that they look for no worldly commodity; but this cankered nature which we beare is provoked to follow vertue when it seeth profit and honour thereto annexed; and, contrarily, then is vertue in many despised, when vertuous and godly men are without honour: and sory would we be that poverty should discourage men from studie and following of the way

of vertue, by which they might edifie the kirk and flock of Christ Jesus."

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To a reader forty merks was thought a reasonable allowance in most cases, provided that he taught the children of the parish, which he was expected to do, besides reading the Common Prayers and books of the Old and New Testaments. If after two years he was able to exhort, and gave hope of attaining the gifts of a minister, he might have one hundred merks, or more or less, at the discretion of the Church, appointed to him. If after two years' trial he should prove unable to exhort, he was to be removed.

1560.
Provision
for the
Readers.

In many parishes I find that the salaries of the readers were much less than had at first been intended. In Glasgow the reader had only twenty pounds Scots. In St Andrews he had double that sum ; but there he seems to have acted also as exhorter, and may be considered as having obtained only about one-half of the allowance originally intended. I have occasion to know that many of the rules prescribed in the Book of Discipline, as well as in Acts of the Assembly, with regard to the readers (like most other matters), were never reduced to practice. Thus, a person of the name of Thomas Wood was reader of the parish of St Andrews for at least fifteen years (from 1576 to 1591), without ever becoming fit for the station of exhorter. After he had acted eleven years, he was severely censured in the kirk-session (5th April 1587) for his addition to God's Word in time of reading of the prayers ; and for this offence he was obliged to humble himself on his knees, and ask forgiveness from God and the session, and also to confess his fault openly in the church after sermon. Though the General Assembly in 1581 ordered that there should no

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more readers be admitted into the Church, a reader was admitted in this parish in the room of Thomas Black, whose place became vacant at least ten years after that enactment. This new reader was certainly an exhorter, and continued so for a long period, not less than fifteen years, without ever rising higher; but he never received any greater income than his predecessor, who was a mere reader. Though not described as a minister, he was occasionally chosen moderator of the kirk-session, when both the ministers were present; and it appears that his exhortations were sometimes thought to extend to a greater length than became his function,—for at the privy censures (2d May 1596) he was once admonished to beware of multiplication of words in his doctrine, and that his exhortations be in few words, that the people might be more edified.^a These instances show that the statutes of the Church were not always observed with

^a The whole minute is curious, and affords a fair illustration of the mode of conducting privy censures at this time:—"2d May 1596.—The qlk day being appointit to try ye life and conversation of ye haill members of ye session, alsweill ministers as elders and deacons, Mr David Black, minister, being removit, there is nathing objectit aganis him, bot all ye brethren praises God of him, and y^t he may continue in his feir. Mr Robert Wallace being removit, ye brethren thankis God for him, bot it is desyrit of him y^t he may be mair diligent and careful over ye maneris of ye peopel, and in visiting of ye seik. Mr Ro. Zuill being removit, y^r is nathing aganis him in life, doctrein, nor conversation, bot he is to be admonished of multiplication of words in his doctrine, and y^t his nottis be in few wordis y^t ye peopil may be mair edi-

fyt. Mr Andrew Mellvell being removit, y^r is nathing opponit aganis him, bot ye haill brethren thanks God for him. Mr David Monypeny being removit, yair is nathing opponit aganis him. Mr Wm. Wellwood—nathing against him. Dav. Murray, nathing aganis him except his payand nathing to ye contribution to ye pair. Duncan Balfour fand falt with, . . . ye murthir of Pareiss laid to his charge, becaus he was in companie in ye Kingis service al ye tyme—quharof ye said Duncan purges himself in conscience, as also of coming with ye kingis commission to stay ye doctrein in ye New College, &c."—*Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews.*

[The above extract will be found printed more at length in Dr M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 478 (1819). —ED.]

regularity, even in those situations where the most conspicuous members of the General Assembly resided, and might have been expected to enforce their observance.

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VII.
1560.

Out of the patrimony of the Church it was also suggested by the framers of this book, that provision should be made for the poor and for the teachers of youth; and their representations on these subjects were undoubtedly entitled to much more serious consideration than they ever obtained.

Schools and
the Poor.

The next general head of the Book of Discipline relates to the Superintendents, an order of men which, according to those who take their views of the Book of Discipline from Spotswood's History, was intended to be permanently established, but which, in the opinion of all strict Presbyterians, was never meant to be continued longer than the exigency which was the professed ground of their appointment. Spotswood has suppressed every word which indicates that the appointment was only temporary.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
VI. Super-
intendents.

The account of the Superintendents begins thus: "Because we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signify (to your Honours) such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt preachers *at this time*, as also how many superintendents we think necessary, with their bounds, office, election, and causes that may deserve deposition from that charge."

Superin-
tendents
temporary
office-bear-
ers.

"We consider that, if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us should be appointed to several places there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realm should be destitute of all doctrine, which should

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not only be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And therefore we have thought it a thing most expedient *at this time*, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole) to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirks, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now. And by their means, your love and common care over all inhabitants of this realm, to whom you are equally debtors, shall evidently appear; as also the simple and ignorant, who perchance have never heard Jesus Christ truly preached, shall come to some knowledge, by the which many that are dead in superstition and ignorance, shall attain to some feeling of godliness, by the which they may be provoked to search and seek farther knowledge of God and his true religion and worshipping: Where by the contrary, if they shall be neglected, then shall they not only grudge, but also seek the means whereby they may continue in their blindness, or return to their accustomed idolatry. And therefore nothing we desire more earnestly than that Christ Jesus be universally once preached throughout this realm, which shall not suddenly be, unless that by you men be appointed and compelled faithfully to travel in such provinces as to them shall be assigned.”^a

Stations of
Superin-
tendents.

Ten different stations or dioceses are then enumerated:—One for the Superintendent of Orkney; a second for Ross; a third for Argyll; a fourth for Aberdeen; a fifth for Brechin; a sixth for Fife and

^a All this is omitted by Spotswood, and a great deal more.

Fotheringham ; ^a a seventh for Edinburgh ; an eighth for Jedburgh ; a ninth for Glasgow ; a tenth for Dumfries.

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Though these ten provinces were thus designed, only five persons were appointed with the title of Superintendent,—John Wynram, sub-prior of St Andrews, to Fife, Fotheringham, and Strathern ; John Willock, to the diocese of Glasgow ; John Carswell, to Argyll and the Isles ; John Erskine of Dun to Angus ; and John Spotswood (father of the Archbishop) to Lothian. John Row was appointed to the same duties in Dumfries and Galloway, with the designation of Commissioner. The commissioner, properly so called, differed from the superintendents in being appointed merely to visit certain provinces from one Assembly to another. It is probable that John Row, though his nomination was not so limited, did not assume the higher appellation of superintendent, either

^a [Fotheringham, the same with Fotherif, in *Chart. Dunferm.*, vol. ii. fol. 7, quoted by Lord Hailes, who adds the following particulars :—"Fotherif is called Forthrick in *Chart. Cambuskenneth*, fol. 2. Sir R. Sibbald (*Hist. of Fife*, c. 2) says, that Mr Robert Maule, the antiquary, derived Fotherif from *reachric*, i.e. 'the painted kingdom,' or 'the kingdom of the Picts.' There seems no occasion for having recourse to fanciful etymologies. *Forthrick*, the word in the *Chartulary of Cambuskenneth*, is compounded of *Forth* and *rick*, i.e. the kingdom or territory at the Forth. I suppose that it means that country which lies on the northern bank of the Forth, from the neighbourhood of Stirling to where the river is lost in the salt water."—Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 297. The word is Fotheriff in Fordun, lib. 13. c. 24.

It appears from the statute of Laurence de Liudoris, distributing the University of St Andrews into four nations, that *Fife* was understood to comprehend the whole district between the Forth and the Tay :—"Statutum fuit quod essent iv. nationes, ita divisæ ut ex ea regione quæ ad septentriones pertinent a profuente Forthiæ sit una quam Fifa complectatur, altera quam borealis regio a Tao amne terminet ; duæ aliæ ad austrum spectantes, in harum altera censeatur totus tractus [archidiaconatus] Lothianæ a Sterlino occidentali termino, unacum Tweddalla, Eskedalia, Lauderdalia et Mersia usque ad fines imperii versus orientem ; in altera quod reliquum est ditionis (episcopatus) Glasguensis (seclusis nominatus vallibus) ditio Gallovidiana et Lennoxia tota australis qua Forthia aluitur."

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because the Bishop of Galloway, who had been converted from Popery, aimed at the inspection of the province which had formerly been subject to him, or because Row, being minister of Perth, did not reside within his diocese, and could not exercise the same constant superintendence which was practicable to every one of the rest, who, according to the regulation, were bound to reside four months in the year in a particular parish within his district.

Duties of
the Superin-
tendents.

It was specially required that those men must not be suffered to live as the idle bishops had done heretofore. Neither must they remain where gladly they would, but they must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make long residence in any place, till their kirks be planted and provided of ministers, or at the least of readers. They must remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation, till they passed through their whole bounds. They must preach

Buchanan seems to use the word *Fifa* as comprehending all the land between the Tay and the Forth. He says this province was originally called *Rossia*, or the peninsula, and hence *Culross*, the back of the peninsula, *Kinross*, the head or top of the peninsula [*Historia*, p. 155]. He does not mention the name Fothriff or Fothrick, so far as I know. I have not observed the name in Leslie's History, though that author describes the divisions of the country very minutely.

If Lord Hailes' conjecture be well founded, Fothrick or Fotheringham is comprehended in the district which Buchanan calls Taichia (from the river Teith passing through the middle of it), or the Stewartry of Menteith, in which he includes Kinross and Clackmannan, with the whole country between the mountains in Strathern and the north bank of the Forth (mean-

ing, probably, the bank of the Forth westward from Culross) [*Hist.* 17, 18.]

The continuator of Fordun (lib. vi. cap. 24) says, that the first Bishop of St Andrews was Fothad, and that, on the silver binding of the Gospels still preserved at St Andrews, this verse was engraved :—

“ Hanc evangelii thecam construxit
avites
Fothad, qui primus Scotis episcopus
est.”

There was a second Fothad, or Fothald, the tenth bishop in succession. In the General Assembly December 1564, John Knox was appointed to visit “ the kirks of Fyfe, Stratherne, Gowrie, and *Menteith*.” This is the Taichia of Buchanan, and probably the same with Fothrick and Fotheringham.]

thrice every week at the least, and when they returned to their principal town and residence, they must likewise be exercised in preaching. Yet they must not continue there so long, that they may seem to neglect their other kirks. But after remaining at their chief towns three or four months at most, they were to be compelled (unless detained by sickness) to enter again on visitation, in which they were not only to preach, but also to examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, as also the order of the churches and the manners of the people. They must further consider how the poor were provided, and how the youth were instructed. They must admonish where necessary, and redress such things as might be appeased by good counsel. Finally, they were to note heinous crimes.

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If the superintendent proved negligent in any of the chief points of his office, and especially if he were noted negligent in preaching the word and visitation of kirks, or if convicted of such crimes as are condemned in common ministers, he must be deposed without respect of his person or office.

Superintendents
amenable to
discipline.

It is to be regretted that this rule was not strictly enforced. The Superintendent of Fife was very often accused of negligence, and could not deny the charge; but though he scarcely ever preached at all, either in the place of his principal residence or anywhere else, and though he was at no pains to visit the churches, he was allowed to retain his office, as long as the name of superintendent was continued in the Church. All the others (I think) were often complained of to the General Assembly; but even in those days, which are supposed to have been so rigorously strict, I do not recollect that any of them ever

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[Sage's
Fund. Ch.
of Presby.
p. 110.]

received more than a slight censure, a gentle admonition, and certainly none of them suffered deprivation of office. John Willock, indeed, retired voluntarily to England, though the author of the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined* has thought fit to say that he "lived and died Superintendent of Glasgow." All the others continued long in office; none of them was ever deposed, and John Erskine, the last of them, died in 1591.

Election of
Superin-
tendents.

The election of superintendents is particularly described. In the then scarcity of teachers, the Reformers regretted that the nomination, examination, and admission of superintendents could not be so strict as they required it to be afterwards. They asked the council (or the parliament) to nominate so many as might serve the ten provinces, or to give commission to trustworthy persons to make the choice. They recommended that the gentlemen and burgesses of every diocese should be apprised of the election. If the requisite number of able men could not then be found, it was in their judgments more profitable that those provinces should continue vacant till God provided better for them, than that men, unable to edify and govern the Church, should be so suddenly placed in that charge; "for experience hath taught us," said they, "what pestilence hath been engendered in the kirk by men unable to discharge their offices." When, therefore, after three years, any superintendent should depart, or chance to be deposed, the ministers, elders, and deacons of the chief town within the province, together with magistrates and council, were to nominate, and by public edicts proclaim, as well to the superintendents, as to two or three provinces, adjacent, two or three of the most learned and godly ministers

within the whole realm, that from among them one, with public consent, might be elected and appointed to the vacant office. If the chief town should neglect this more than twenty days, three of the next provinces, with consent of their superintendents, ministers, and elders, were to present, every one of them, one or two if they chose, to the chief town, to be examined in due form. And every several church was at liberty to nominate such persons as were thought worthy to stand in the election.

After nomination, public edicts were to be sent forth, warning all men that had any exception against any of the persons nominated, to be present in the chief town at the day appointed, to object what they could against the election. The day of election might be thirty days after the nomination. The whole ministers of the province, with three or four superintendents, were to examine publicly, not only the learning, but also the manners, prudence, and ability to govern the kirk, of all that were nominated, that he who should be found most worthy might be burdened with the charge. The votes of all that convened were to be required, and it was suggested that the election would be more free, if the ministers of the whole province should bring with them the votes of them that were committed to their care.

To say the least of it, this would have been a very inconvenient practice, and its utility is not very obvious. How could all the people of all the province be able to judge (otherwise than by report) of the comparative merits of the various nominees? And must not the phantom of vulgar popularity have in such cases been apt to prevail over the convictions of those present at the public trial? The ministers,

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indeed, might calculate on possessing so great an influence over the determinations of the people at that period, that they might almost mould them at their will ; but in this case, again, the freedom of election was only a delusion. When the knowledge of the true religion was only dawning in the country, the great body of the population was utterly unqualified to choose those who were best adapted to the duty of instructing and governing the Church.

From the Book of Discipline it would appear that our first Reformers were not very clearly of opinion that the election of every office-bearer in the Church was most properly committed to the flock which was to be under his charge. If three or four adjacent provinces might be consulted in the choice of the superintendent of another province, and if, when the people of a parish were remiss in fixing on a pastor, the church of the superintendent, with his council, might present a qualified person, it seems to have been understood that a congregation might be well supplied, although its minister were chosen by persons who were not immediately interested in the appointment.

Concerning the election of superintendents, it was farther enjoined that the examinations should be publicly made. "They that stand in election," it is added, "must publicly preach, and men must be charged in the name of God to vote according to conscience and not after affection." In many cases it might seem difficult for a man to distinguish between the voice of conscience and the dictates of affection ; but by the word *affection* here, and in many other places, is meant *private friendship* or *interested partiality*.

If anything were objected against any candidate,

the superintendents and ministers were required to consider whether the objection arose from conscience or malice, and to answer accordingly. This was a hard question which they were expected to resolve; but it might be thought necessary by some such rule to deter men from bringing forward captious and unfounded objections; and it was not very uncharitable to infer that those aspersions against a minister's character were founded in malice, of which no proof whatever could be produced.

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No other ceremony was allowed at the introduction of a superintendent, except sharp examination, approbation of the ministers and superintendents, with the public consent of the elders and people.

The form and order of the election of the Superintendent of Lothian, 9th March 1560-(1), is inserted in the Book of Common Order, and in the genuine edition of Knox's History. As it was intended to serve as a model in electing all other ministers, I shall read the principal part of it.

[Knox's
Hist., p.
263.
Dunlop's
Confessions,
ii. 227.]

[“The forme and ordour of the Election of the Superintendents, quhilk may serve also in election of all uther Ministers :—

“At Edinburghe the 9th Merche 1560 yeiris, Johne Knox being minister. First was maid a sermone, in the quhilk thir heids war intreated,—First, The necessity of Ministers and Superintendents. 2. The crymes and vyces that nicht unable thame. 3. The vertues required in thayme. And last, Quidder sick, as by publict consent of the Kyrk, wer callit to sick office, nicht refuis the same? The sermone finisched, it was declared be the same Minister, maker thareof, that the Lords of Secrete Councell had gevin charge and power of the Kirks of Lauthiane, to chuse Mr

Form of the
election of
the Super-
intendent of
Lothian.
9th March
1560-(1).

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Johne Spottiswode superintendent; and that sufficient warning was made be publict edict to the kirks of Edinburghe, Linlythgow, Striveling, Tranent, Hadington, and Dunbar: as also Earles, Lords, Barones, Gentilmen, and uthers, having, or quho micht claime to have, voit in electioun, to be present that day; and therefor inquisition was made quho wer present and quho wer absent. Efter was called the said Mr Johne, quho answering, the Minister demanded, Gif ony man knew ony cryme or offence to the said Mr Johne, that mycht unabill him to be called to that office? Secundlie, Questioun was moved to the haill multitude, if their was ony uther quhome they wald put in electioun with the said Mr Johne? The pepill wer asked if they wald have the said Mr Johne superintendent? If they wald honour and obey him as Christ's minister, and comfort and assist him in everie thing pertaining to his charge?

“They answerit,—

“We will; and we do promeis unto him sick obedience as becumethe the scheip to give unto their pastour, sa lang as he remains faythfull in his office.

“The answers of the pepill, and thair consents received, thir questionns wer proponit unto him that was to be elected.

“Questioun,—

“Seing that ye heir the thirst and desyre of this pepill, do ye not think yourself bund in conscience befor God to support thame that so earnestly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

“Answeir,—

“If anie thing wer in me abill to satisfie thair desyir,

I acknowledge myself bound to obey God's calling by thame.

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“Question,—

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“Do ye seik to be promoted to this office and charge for ony respect of warldly riches or glory ?

“Answer,—

“God knawes the contrarie.”

The other questions proposed to the person to be elected, are as follows :—

“Beleeve ye not that the doctrine of the Propheits and Apostles, contained in the Buiks of the Auld and New Testaments, is the onely trew and most absolute foundation of the universall Kirk of Christ Jesus, insamekill that in the same Scriptures ar contained all things necessary to be beleved for the salvation of mankind ? . . .

“Is not Christ Jesus, man of man, according to the flesche, to wit, the Son of David, the seid of Abrahame, conceived by the Holy Gaist, borne of the Virgin Marie his mother, the onely Heid and Mediatour of his Kirk ? . . .

“Is not the same Lord Jesus, onely trew God, the eternell Sone of the eternell Father, in quhome all that sall be saved were elected befor the fundatioun of the world was layed ? . . .

“Sall not they quhome God in his eternell counsell hes electit, be callit to the knowlege of his Sone, our Lord Jesus, and sall not they, quho of purpois are elected in this lyfe, be justified ? And is not justification and fre remission of sines obtained in this lyfe by free grace ? Sall not this glorie of the sones of God follow in the generall resurrection, quhen the Sone of God sall apair in his glorious majesty ? . . .

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“Will ye not contain yourself in all doctrine within the boundes of this foundation? Will ye not study to promote the sam, alsweill by your lyfe as by your doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God sall grant unto yow, profes, instructe, and mantene the purity of the doctrine contained in the sacred Word of God? And, to the uttermost of your power, will ye not ganestand, and convince the gaynsayers and teicheris of men’s inventiones?”

“Knew ye not, that the excellency of this office, to the quhilk God hes called yow, requires that your conversatioun and behaviour be sick as that ye may be irreprehensible; yea, even in the eyis of the ungodly?

“Becaus ye ar as a man compassed with infirmities, will ye not charitably and with lawlines of spirit, receive admonition of your brethrein? And if ye sall happin to slyid, or offend in ony point, will ye not be subject to the discipline of the Kirk, as the rest of your brethrein?”

To these questions corresponding answers are appended in the form. The reply to the last question is in the following terms:—

“I acknowledge myself to be a man, subject to infirmity, and ane that hes neid of correction and admonition; and tharefoir I maist willingly submit and subject myself to the hailsume discipline of the kirk; yea, to the discipline of the sam kirk by the quhilk I am now called to this office and chairge; and heir in God’s presens and youris, do promise obedience to all admonitiones, secretly or publickly geven; unto the quhilk, if I be found inobedient, I confes myself most worthie to be ejected, not only from this honour, bot

also frome the society of the faythfull, in cais of my stubburnnes."

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"This ended, question must be asked agane of the multitude,—Require ye ony farther of this your superintendent? If no man answer, lat the minister proceed: Will ye not acknowlege this your brother for the minister of Christ Jesus? Will ye not reverence the Word of God that proceedis fra his mouthe? Will ye not receave of him the sermone of exhortatioun with patience, not refusing the hailsome medicine of your saulls, althocht it be bitter and unpleising to the flesche? Will ye not, finally, mantene and comforte him in his ministry, against all sick as wickitly wald rebell against God, and his holy ordinance?

"The peple answereth,—

"We will, as we will to the Lord Jesus, quho hes commandit his ministeris to be had in reverence as his ambassadours, and as men that cairfully watche for the salvatioun of our saullis? (Let the nobility also be urged with this.)"

The officiating minister,—

"Ye have hard the dewty and professioun of this your brother, by your consentis appointit to this charge; as also the dewty and obedience quhilk God requireth of us towards him heir in his ministry; bot becaus that neyther of bothe are abill to performe ony thing without the especiall grace of our God in Christ Jesus, quho hes promised to be with us present even to the consumation of the warld; with unfayned hairtus let us crave of him his benedictioun and assistance in this work begun to his glory, and for the comfort of his kirk.

“ The Prayer.

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“ O Lord, to quhome all power is gevin in heavin and in eirth—thow that art the eternell Sone of the eternell Father, quho hes not onely so luifit thy kirk, that for the redemptioun and purgatioun of the sam, thow hes humilled thyself to the deyth of the crose; and thareupoun hes sched thy most innocent bluid to prepair to thyself a spous without spote; bot also to retein this thy most excelent benefite in memory, hes apointed in thy kirk, tichears, pastures, and apostles, to instruct, comfort, and admonische the sam, luk upoun us mercifully, O Lord, thow that onely art King, Teicher, and Hie Priest to thy awn flock! and send unto this our brother, quhome in thy name we have chaired with the cheif cair of thy kirk within the boundis of Lauthiane, sick portioun of thy Holy Spreit, as thareby he may rychtly devyde thy Word to the instructioun of thy flocke, and to the confutatioun of pernicious errores, and damnable superstitiones. Give unto him, gude Lord, a mouthe and wisdom, quhareby the enemeis of thy truthe may be confounded, the wolfis expellit, and driven from thy fauld, thy scheip may be fed in the wholsom pastures of thy most holy Word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy trew knowlege, finally, that the dregis of superstitioun and idolatry, quhilk yit restis within this realme, being purged and removed, we may all not onely have occasioun to glorifie the, our onely Lord and Saviour, bot also dayly to grow in godlines and obedience of thy most holy will, to the destructioun of the body of synne, and to the restitutioun of that image, to the quhilk we wer anes created, and to the quhilk, efter

our fall and defectioun, we ar renewed, by participation of thy Spirit, quhilk by trew fayth in the, we do profes, as the blissit of thy Father, of quhome the perpetuall increas of thy graces we crave, as by the, our Lord and King, and onely Bischope, we ar taucht to pray, saying, ‘Our Father that art in Hevin,’ &c.

“The prayer ended, the rest of the ministers, if ony be, and elders of that kirk present, in signe of thair consents, sall tak the elected be the hand, and then the cheif minister sall gif the benedictioun. . . .

“The last Exhortatioun to the Elected.

“Take heid to thy self, and unto the flock comitted to thy chairge ; feid the same cairfully, not as it wer of compulsioun, bot of very love, quhilk thow bearest to the Lord Jesus. Walk in simplicity and purenes of lyfe, as it becumeth the trew servand and ambassador of the Lord Jesus. Usurpe not dominium, nor tyrannicall impyre over thy brethrein. Be not discouraged in adversity, bot lay befor thyself the exemple of propheits, apostles, and of the Lord Jesus, quho in thair ministry susteaned contradictioun, contempt, persecutioun, and deyth. Feir not to rebuik the warld of sine, justice, and judgement. If onything succeid prosperously in thy vocation, be not puft up with pryde : nether yit flatter thyself as that the gude succes proceded from thy vertew, industry, or cair : bot let ever that sentence of the apostle remane in thy hairt : ‘Quhat hes thow quhilk thow hes not receavit ? If thow hes receavit, quhy gloriest thow ?’ Comfort the afflicted, support the puir, and exhort utheris to support thame. Be not solist for things of this lyfe ; bot be fervent in prayer to God for increas of his Holy Spirit. And finally, behave thyself in

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this holy vocation, with sick sobriety as God may be glorified in thy ministry : And so sall thow shortly obtain the victory, and sall receive the crown promised, quhen the Lord Jesus sall apear in his glory, quhois Omnipotent Spirit assist thee and us unto the end. Amen.—(Then sing the 23d Psalme).”]

Censure of
Superin-
tendents.

The superintendent, having been elected and appointed to his charge, was to be subject to the censure and correction of ministers and elders, not of his chief town only, but also of the whole province over which he was appointed overseer. If his offence were known, and the ministers and elders of the town and province were negligent in correcting him, the next one or two superintendents, with their ministers and elders, might convene him and the ministers and elders of his chief town, provided that it were within his own province or chief town, and might accuse and correct both the superintendent himself, and the ministers and elders of their negligence and sinful connivance. (There is no mention of appeal to any higher authority ; and it must be confessed that in this part of the discipline the proceedings were by no means orderly.) Whatsoever crime deserved deposition or correction of any other minister, deserved the same in case of the superintendent without exception of persons.

Other regu-
lations.

After the Church was established three years, no man was to be called to the office of superintendent who had not given full proof of his faithful labours in the ministry of one kirk for at least two years.

No superintendent might be transferred at the pleasure or request of any one province, without the con-

sent of the whole council of the kirk, and that for grave causes and considerations.

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Of one thing, in conclusion, the estates of parliament were admonished—viz. that in the appointing of the superintendents for the present, they were not to disappoint the chief towns, and places where learning was exercised, of such ministers as might be more useful by residence in one place, than by continual travel from place to place—"For if ye so doe, the youth in these places shall lack the profound interpretation of Scripture, and so shall it be long before your garden send forth many plants; where, by the contrary, if one or two townes be continually exercised as they may, the commonwealth shall shortly feast of their fruit, to the comfort of the godly."

It was probably on this principle that the most eminent man in the church was stationed as minister of Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman (an Englishman) at St Andrews; Adam Heriot, at Aberdeen (he was formerly one of the brethren of the Augustinian priory of St Andrews); John Row, at Perth, where he had before been a popish priest; William Christison, at Dundee; David Ferguson, at Dunfermline; Paul Methven, at Jedburgh; and David Lindsay, at Leith. These eight, and four of the superintendents, were all the ministers of the Church of Scotland, when it applied for the ratification of its form of policy. Erskine of Dun, soon afterwards a superintendent, was not yet admitted to the sacred office.

It appears from the records of church courts, that the superintendents, soon after the Reformation, exercised various functions, and possessed several distinctions which are not recognised in the First Book of Discipline. Thus, for instance, the superintendent

Functions
exercised by
the Super-
intendents
which were
not recog-
nised in the
Book of
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and his consistory (session) judged of cases of defamation and divorce, which had formerly been under the jurisdiction of the bishops or their officials.^a The superintendent also judged in cases of alleged heresy, as appears in the review of the trial of Sir John Borthwick, the conclusion of which I shall read as a specimen of the mode of proceeding in such cases.

[Records of
Kirk Ses-
sion of St
Andrews.]

[“5th Sept. 1561.—To al and syndry to quhais knauledge thir presentis sal cum, Maister Jhon Wynram, superintendent of Fyff, minister, eldaris, and diaconis of Cristis kyrk within the reformed citie of Sanct Androis, grace, mercie, and peace from God our Father, through Jesus Crist our Lord and only Salvior,

α [In one of the cases in the St Andrews register, Aug. 1563, the sentence of divorce (Gib and Killok) is said to be pronounced by the superintendent “in presence of Chris. Gudman, minister, Mr Jo. Dowglas, rector of the University, Mr Wm. Ramsay, James Wilkie, Wm. Cok, elders.” Wynram appears to have been personally well qualified for the discharge of such functions. More than a year before his election (March 20, 1560-1.) as Superintendent of Fife, in a process for divorce moved before the “minister, eldaris and diaconis,” (sometimes called *the minister and seniors*) “of the Christian congregation of St Andrews, by Wm. Rantoun against Elizabeth Geddes his spouse,” the session acted “with advice of Mr John Douglas, rector of the University of St Andrews, and John Wynram supprior, men of singular erudition and understanding in the Scriptures and word of God, with Mr Wm. Skene and John Rutherford, men of cunning in sundrie sciences.” (The session, Feb. 14, 1559-60, declared Elizabeth Geddes innocent of the crimes laid to her charge,

and their sentence is said to have been “read oppinlie be Johnne Knox, minister, in presence of the congregation.” Wm. Rantoun himself was soon after convicted of adultery and divorced, being declared “be repute ane dead man worthie to want his lyfe be the law of God, whenever it shall please God to stir up the [harts] of ane gude and godlie mag^{trate} to execute the same w^t the civil sword.”)

The jurisdiction of the superintendent was not, in such or similar cases, always unchallenged. In the same Session Records of St Andrews, under the date of July 1561, there is entered a “process against Mr Alexander Wardlaw, pretendit parson of Balingrie, for ye offence, injurie, and blasphemie don and said against Mr Jhon Wynram, superintendent of Fyfe, &c.” Wardlaw had “ministered the sacraments of baptism and the supper of the Lord since election of the superintendent w^tout being admittit y^{to}. . . . And because the superintendent caused ane minister admittit, [to] baptise ane bairn, Mr Alex^r. injurit ye superintendent, affirmand himself to be minister of yat kyrk,

with perpetual increass of his holic Spirit. It mot^a be knawen that we, be vertue of ane commission and supplication direct to wss be deliverance of the Lordis of our Soweran Ladies secreit Consayll . . . being requested and desyrit to considder certain articles alleged haldyn be Schyr Jhone Borthuik, and quhar-upon ane pretendit sentence wess gewyn^β be umqll^γ Daud Cardinall, Archbishop of Sanct Androis, decernand the saids articles hereticall, and thairthrough the said Schyr Jhone to be infamed and punissed ; and the saids articles being fundyn^δ be wss ressonabyle, conform to Goddis word, and not hereticall, to declare the said Schyr Jhone not to have falzeit tharin-till, nor to be infamed nor punissed, but that he may persow his just actionis befor whatsumevir jugis, notwithstanding the samyn : and to gewe our declarator thairupon, conforme to the Word of God : quhilk commissione being be uss resavit with reverence and obedience, together with the trew exemplar of the foyrnamed artiklis and sentence . . . extractit furth of the register of the said umqll Daud Cardinall . . . ; and efter our acceptation of the foyrsaid commission, all and syndry hawing or pretending to hawe interest in the said cawss, being summond be our publict edict and proclamation at the marcat croce of the said citie (and copie thairof affixed upon the said croce), to compeir for their interest at certain day and place

lawfullie chosen and providit y^rto, and that he wald not be ane reader to Jhon Knox, nor any other in Scotland." . . . He also called Mr John Wynram "that fals, dissaitfull, greedy, and disemblit smayk [mean fellow]," and said, "or I war not rewenged of yat fals smaik, I had lewer [rather] renunce my pairt of ye kyrk of God."

(Further illustrations of the general fact noticed in the text occur in subsequent Lectures. See also the Notes to the Maitland Club edition of Wodrow's *Biographical Collections*, vol. i. p. 458, &c., (1834).—ED.)

α [May.]

β [Given.]

γ [The late.]

δ [Found.]

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thairin assigned : And we in the mayntym hawand^α trial, consideration, and jugement, in discussing of the saids artikles and sentence, with the consail, jugement, and consent of venerable and godlie lernit men, to wyt, Mr Jhon Dowglas, rector of the universitie of Sanct Androis, and prowest of the New College, Mr Robert Hamyltone, regent in the same, Mr Jhon Rwtherfurd, principall, Master Wm. Ramsay, and Master David Gwyld, maisteris in Sanct Salvatoris College, Mr Jhon Duncanson, principall, and Mr James Wylkie, regent, in Sanct Leonard's College, with otheris diverss ministeris and professores of Godis Word, the explication of the said Schyr Jhon Borthuik, be wss hard, considerat, and with the saids artikles conferred, and fullelie aggreand^β : We find the saids artikles rationabil, not hereticall . . . and heirfor declars . . . the said Schyr Jhon Borthuick . . . not to have deserved infamitie, punischement, nor skaith thairfor . . . notwithstanding the said pretendit sentence, quhilk in the self we declair to be null and wranguslie^γ gewin, and the genaris tharof to have shawyn themselves tharby men ignorant of Godis word and lawis, and plane inemeis to the trewth. Pronounced in the consistorial hows within the parochie kyrk of the citie of Sanct Androis, upon the v day of September, in the zeir of God M^o.V^c.LXI zeares." ^δ]

[Sage,
Fund. Ch.
Presby.,
181-194.]

Dr Sage, in his *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, anxious to prove that the authors of the First Book of Discipline were of Episcopalian principles, has enumerated thirty instances of disparity between superintendents and private parish ministers,—from

α [Having.] β [Agreeing.]

γ [Wrongfully.]

δ [See the Review of the trial, at

length, with the original articles and sentence, in Appendix, No. III.—Ed.]

which he says the world may see the former had a considerable stock of prerogatives or pre-eminences raising them far above other churchmen. Thus they had larger districts to inspect ; they had larger livings ; they ought to have larger abilities (I hope the same qualification was always demanded from all Episcopalian dignitaries) ; they had larger powers of government and discipline :—But I think it unnecessary to follow out all the points in which they are said to be superior, first, because few of the instances are taken from the Book of Discipline ; and, secondly, because most of them are imaginary. In those cases in which the superintendent is spoken of in the Acts of the Assembly as having powers which an ordinary minister did not possess, the superintendent is named merely as the convener and president of the synod, and the functions which he exercised were not performed by him personally, or on his own official responsibility, but as acting with the advice, or rather by the instruction, of the court in which he presided. He was not only subject to the General Assembly, but even liable to be deposed by the ministers and elders of his province in a very summary manner. In short, whoever carefully reads the Book of Discipline, and compares it with the acts and determinations of the General Assemblies, must perceive that the system of superintendents was only a temporary expedient. The very object for which they were chiefly appointed was expected to be temporary, namely, to plant churches ; and, accordingly, we find that while the number of able ministers rapidly multiplied within a few years after the Reformation, no addition was made to the originally nominated superintendents, though the complement was never more than half

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 Alleged disparity between superintendents and other ministers.

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filled up, and though some of them proved very inefficient.

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[Robertson's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 245.]

At the same time that I decline entering into a controversy which might now be expected to be at rest, but which really does not cease to be agitated, I have thought it necessary to give a very detailed account of the substance of the original policy of the Church with respect to Superintendents, because even Principal Robertson, in his *History of Scotland*, and other writers of authority, misled by Spotswood, represent our Reformers as having not departed altogether from the ancient form, and as having rather changed the name than the substance of the hierarchy.

It is not sufficiently adverted to, by those who assert that the Church of Scotland originally approached more nearly to the Episcopalian than to the Presbyterian form, that the Book of Common Order, which is referred to in the First Book of Discipline as one of the standards, does not mention superintendents at all in the enumeration of the ordinary office-bearers in the Church, and that the editions of it which copy from Knox the order of admitting the Superintendent of Lothian, state that the same order was to be observed in the appointment of all ministers whatsoever.

M'Crie's
Life of
Knox [(6th
ed.) p. 408,
410.]

The fact is, that the name of superintendents was immediately borrowed from the Church of England, the most eminent members of which, in the reign of Edward VI., were anxious to establish church government on the model of Geneva, and to declare the office of bishop and presbyter to be the same. The King himself, and not fewer than thirteen bishops (besides a greater number of ecclesiastics), were of opinion that in the New Testament there is no distinction of degrees or orders mentioned, except deacons, otherwise

named ministers, and priests or bishops. Cranmer declared that “by the Scripture, a bishop or priest needeth not consecration, election being sufficient ;” and Bishops Latimer, Hooper, Pilkington, and Jewel, have recorded their conviction of the identity of the offices of bishops and priests. These excellent men wished to proceed gradually in the reformation of abuses (as it is often said our Reformers should have done), but their temporising measures ruined the cause which they had at heart.

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I shall be less tedious on the remainder of the Book of Discipline.

LECTURE VIII.

FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE (CONCLUDED)—UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS
 —PLAN OF STUDY FOR THE UNIVERSITIES—ENCOURAGEMENT OF
 LEARNING BY THE REFORMERS—RENTS AND PATRIMONY OF THE
 CHURCH—PROVISIONS RELATING TO CHURCH DISCIPLINE—ELEC-
 TION OF ELDERS AND DEACONS—THEIR FUNCTIONS IN THE CHURCH
 —ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE—BAPTISM—THE LORD'S SUPPER—
 THE EXERCISE AND ADDITION—MARRIAGE—BURIAL—CONCLUSION
 OF THE BOOK.

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First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
VII.

ONE of the most curious parts of the First Book of Discipline relates to the course of liberal instruction which was intended to be pursued in the universities and schools. The subject of education forms about a sixth part of the whole book,—so anxious were our Reformers to diffuse the principles of useful knowledge as the surest means of perpetuating the influence of pure religion. “Seeing,” say they, “that the office of the godly magistrate is not only to purge the Church of God from all superstition, and to set it at liberty from tyranny and bondage, but also to provide to the utmost of his power, how it may abide in some purity in the posterity following, we can not but freely communicate our judgments in this behalf.”

“The Ne-
cessitie of
Schooles.”

In the first section of this chapter they then proceed to show the Necessity of Schools, that the youth may have knowledge and erudition to profit and comfort the Church. They judged it a matter of necessity

that "every parish should have one schoolmaster appointed,—such a one at least as might be able to teach grammar and the Latin tongue, if the town were of any reputation. If it were a country parish where the people convened to the doctrine only once in the week, then must either the minister or the reader there appointed take care over the children and youth of the parish, to instruct them in the first rudiments, and especially in the catechism as we have it now translated in the book of Common Order, called the Order of Geneva."^a

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If the views of the venerable Fathers of our Church had been followed out, it is impossible to calculate how rapid must have been the progress to improvement; but even in the present advanced state of civilisation the literary institutions of this country are not nearly so numerous as had been projected by Knox and his coadjutors. Most probably John Wynram, the sub-prior of St Andrews, and John Douglas, provost of the New College, and afterwards archbishop, were chiefly consulted in the framing of this part of the book. We know that the different heads were parcelled out among the five authors, and it is most likely that the chapter relating to education was assigned to these learned men, both of whom had long been members of a most flourishing university. Whoever had the merit of the suggestion, it was highly to their credit to recommend, as a thing expedient, that "in every notable town, and especially in the town of the super-

Higher
schools ex-
pedient in
the chief
towns.

^a I beg here to call once more to your attention the fact which is here so plainly stated, that the Book of Common Order was the translation of the Order of Geneva, and not the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, as Dr Sage has thought pro-

per to affirm, in his controversial tract on the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, [pp. 164, 167], which is sometimes referred to as a book of authority, notwithstanding its numberless inaccuracies. [The *Catechism* (Calvin's) will be found in Dunlop, ii. 139.]

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intendent, there should be erected a college, in which the arts, at least logic and rhetoric, together with the tongues, might be read by sufficient masters, for whom honest (honourable) stipends must be provided, as also provision for those that are not able by themselves or by their friends to be sustained at letters." The advantages of this plan of having the liberal arts taught in all the principal towns are also pointed out. First, the youth would be brought up in virtue in presence of their friends, by whose good attendance many inconveniences may be avoided into which the youth commonly fall, either by too much liberty in unknown places, while they cannot rule themselves, or else for want of that careful attendance which their tender age requires. Secondly, the exercise of children in every church would be a great instruction to the aged; and, lastly, the great schools or universities would be replenished with such as were apt to learning.

School at-
tendance
compulsory.

It was provided, that no father, of whatever rank, should use his children at his own fancy, especially in youth, but that all were to be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue. The rich and powerful were to be exhorted, and by the censure of the Church compelled, to dedicate their sons to the profit of the Church and commonwealth; and this was to be done at their own expense. The children of the poor were to be supported at the charge of the Church, if they showed a genius for letters. For the purpose of discovering who had this turn for learning, and encouraging them to persevere in their studies, the minister, elders, and other learned men in every town, were to examine every quarter what progress the youth had made.

Two years were thought more than sufficient to learn to read perfectly, to answer the catechism, and to have an introduction to the study of grammar. Three or four years were considered to be enough to complete the study of grammar, and four years more for instruction in the arts—namely, logic, rhetoric, and the Greek tongue. After passing through this preparation, the time of the student till the age of twenty-four was to be spent in whatever study would most profit the Church or commonwealth, whether it were in the laws, physic, or divinity. At the age of twenty-four he was to be removed to enter on those public duties for which he had qualified himself, unless he were retained as a teacher in his college or university. If this scheme should be adopted, the authors had no doubt that within few years the whole realm would serve itself of true preachers and other officers necessary for the public good.

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Time ap-
pointed
to every
course.

It was not, of course, expected that the whole of this curriculum should be passed through by all the youth. The appointed "time being expired in every course, the children," it is said, "should either proceed to farther knowledge, or else they must be set to some handie craft, or to some other profitable exercise: providing alwaies that first they have the knowledge of God's law and commandments, the use and office of the same, the chiefe articles of the beleeffe, the right forme to pray unto God, the number, use, and effect of the sacraments, the true knowledge of Christ Jesus, of his offices and natures, and such other points without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called a Christian, neither ought any to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table."

LECT.
VIII.1560.
Erection of
Universi-
ties.

Under this general head of education, the next matter treated of is the erection of universities; and here the views of the Reformers, instead of being altogether original, were in a great measure borrowed from the actual state of the different seats of learning.^a The education of which we have hitherto spoken was understood to be conducted in the several colleges proposed to be erected in every chief town. When the youth had studied grammar three or four years, and logic, rhetoric, and Greek four years more, they might enter the university. Three universities were thought necessary, and it was conceived that they ought to continue in the towns in which they had been established in popish times,—one in St Andrews, a second at Glasgow, and a third at Aberdeen. In the University of St Andrews it was thought proper to have three colleges as formerly. In Glasgow two colleges were proposed, and in Aberdeen two.

Proposed
plan of study
in the Uni-
versities.

After entering the university, three years' study was supposed to be sufficient to prepare a young man for the degree of Master of Arts. From the time of laurea- tion in philosophy, five years more were required to accomplish the course requisite for qualifying a man for any of the liberal professions. The teachers were not intended to follow the method which had long been practised in every university, both in this country and in many others, namely, by carrying their pupils through the whole routine of study. It was proposed to have a separate teacher for every distinct branch,—a method which was not followed in any of the universities for more than a hundred years

^a [For an account of the early his- formation, in the case of the Univer-
tory of University Education in Scot- sity of Glasgow, see Appendix No.
land, both before and after the Re- VIII.—ED.]

afterwards. The following was the plan proposed for the University of St Andrews.

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In the first college there was to be a reader or professor of dialectics, who was to finish his course in one year. Another year was to be devoted to mathematics, the second class comprehending arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, and astronomy (or astrology, as it was then more generally called). The third year was to be occupied in attending the professor of natural philosophy. At the conclusion of the three years, whoever was found qualified, upon examination, might be graduated in philosophy. If he intended to become a physician, he might attend the teacher of medicine in the same college five years,—after which, if his trials were satisfactory, he might receive a degree.

In the second college, one professor was to pass through a course of ethics, economics, and politics, in one year; and two professors of the municipal and Roman laws, were to complete the full course in four years.

In the third college, a professor of Hebrew and another of Greek were to have charge of the students for one year. In the first three months, the grammar of each of these tongues was to be taught; and during the remainder of the year the one professor was to interpret the books of Moses, the Prophets, or the Psalms; and the other was to explain some book of Plato, together with some place of the New Testament. In the second class of this college were to be two readers or professors in divinity,—the one in the New Testament, the other in the Old, after which, those who gave satisfying proofs of their attainments were to be graduates in divinity. The method of teaching Greek and Hebrew in the third college would have been a

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bad one, if the elements of Greek had not been intended to be previously taught in the provincial schools or colleges.

Before entering the first college of the university, every student was required to bring a certificate of his docility, his learning, his age, and parentage ; and he was also to be strictly examined, and if found sufficiently instructed in dialectics, he was to pass at once into the class of mathematics. None was to be permitted to study medicine, unless he had a testimonial of having made due proficiency in dialectics, mathematics, and physics. In the same manner, before admission to the class of laws, it was necessary to have applied, during the usual terms, to dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, and politics, and to have showed a capacity for the three last-mentioned branches. So also before entering on the course of divinity, sufficient testimonials were required of the time having been well spent in dialectics, mathematics, physics, ethics, economics, and politics, and the Hebrew tongue, and of having manifested docility in the study of Hebrew and moral philosophy. But neither such as were to study law were required to attend medicine, nor were the students of divinity to be compelled to study either medicine or law. The preparatory studies for divinity were more numerous than for law, and the students of law were to be required to apply to ethics, economics, and politics, in addition to the three years' attendance upon dialectics, mathematics, and physics, prescribed to the students of medicine, as well as to all others who attended the university.

The Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen were intended to embrace the same plan of study, but the

establishments were modelled on a less extensive scale.

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With regard to the internal regulations of each college, and the appointments of the different officers, it is not necessary to enter into any particular detail. Neither shall I take up your time with an account of the mode in which the expense of these institutions was proposed to be maintained—though this is one of the parts of the Book of Discipline which Spotswood has curtailed. He has, in particular, omitted to insert the following sentence: “We think expedient that the universities be doted with temporal lands, with rents and revenues of the bishopricks’ temporality, and of the kirks collegiate, so far as their ordinary charges shall require, and therefore that it would please your honours, by advice of the honourable Council and vote of Parliament, to do the same.” It is very probable that the Archbishop, or the publisher of his History, might be conscious that the revenues of the bishoprics were not uniformly so wisely applied under the Episcopalian government as the Reformers had intended, and that the knowledge of this fact would not operate altogether in favour of the hierarchy.

Ch. vii. § 23.
Spotswood,
Hist., p.
163.]

It has often been said by the advocates of Episcopacy, that the Reformation in Scotland, instead of encouraging, extinguished learning, because the abbots converted the abbeys, which had formerly been seminaries, into temporal estates, and the bishops divided their lands among their kindred, instead of employing their wealth in patronising men of learning and supporting the universities. It has been answered to this objection, that learning suffered more by luxury in the times of Popery than ever it did by poverty in

Encourage-
ment of
learning by
the Reform-
ers.

LECT.
VIII.

1560.

the times of Protestantism ; and that though some of our nobility were impelled by avarice to seize the ecclesiastical revenues, yet that all of them could not be charged with this sacrilege. It might have been answered still more to the purpose, that if the Reformers had been allowed to carry their plans into execution, a great proportion of the rents of the bishoprics would have been applied to the support of literary institutions, as well as to the due sustentation of the parochial clergy. Their destination of these funds was indeed intercepted by the avarice of men of power,—but, though the enlightened views which they had endeavoured to impress upon the Parliament were thus frustrated, it is certainly most unfair to charge upon the Reformers the discredit of an effect to which they not only did not contribute, but which they laboured strenuously to counteract. They had the best interests of learning deeply at heart, and if their counsel had been followed, no country in the world would have been so well supplied as Scotland with the means of extending the benefits of a liberal education to every man capable of intellectual improvement. They concluded this chapter in the following words : “ All other things touching the books to be read in each class, and all such particular affairs, we refer to the discretion of the masters, principals, and regents, not doubting, but if God shall send quietness, and give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasure ye are able to amass for them, which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help and comfort. And as this is most true, so we leave it with the rest of the

commodities to be weighed by your honours' wisdom, and set forwards by your authority, to the most high advancement of this commonwealth committed to your charge." It was not to be expected that this expression of their zeal for the cause of good letters would be preserved by the Episcopalian writers, and accordingly their admired historian has left it out of that book which he says he has copied "word by word."

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1560.

[Spotswood,
Hist., p.
164.]

The sixth head, "Of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church," has also been greatly abridged by that most reverend writer. It is a very spirited paper, insisting on the just appropriation of the funds of the Church to the support of the ministers, the schools, and the poor. It asserts that some gentlemen were become as cruel over their tenants as ever the Papists had been, demanding payment of what had formerly been rendered to the Church; and it solemnly requires them to live upon their own just rents, and to suffer the Church to be restored her liberty; that in her restitution, the poor, who had hitherto been spoiled and oppressed by cruel Papists, might receive some comfort and relaxation; that their teinds and other exactions might be clean discharged, and no more taken in times coming. It also requires deacons and treasurers to be appointed to receive the rents, rather than the ministers themselves, because not only the ministers, but also the poor, and the teachers of youth, were to receive their support from this source. If I am not mistaken, this chapter bears strong marks of having been the production of John Knox, who seldom fails to seize every opportunity of animadverting with caustic severity on the vices of the bishops and their hirelings.

First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
VIII.
Rents and
Patrimony
of the
Church.

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First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
IX. Eccle-
siastical
Discipline.

The seventh head treats “of Ecclesiastical Discipline.” This too may, with great probability, be ascribed to the pen of Knox; and it has shared the same fate with most of the other parts, in being not only shortened, but greatly softened down. All estates in the realm were to be equally subject to discipline—as well the rulers as they that are ruled; and the preachers themselves as well as the poor within the Church; and because the eye and mouth of the Church ought to be most single and irreprehensible, the life and conversation of the minister ought to be diligently tried. In the impartial exercise of this discipline, all those faults were to be reproved and corrected which the civil sword did not punish. In cases of secret offences, and in cases where there was rather suspicion than proof, the offender was to be privately admonished to abstain from all appearance of evil, which, if he promised, and declared himself sober, honest, and one that feared God, and was averse from offending his brethren, then might the secret admonition suffice for his correction. This was less inquisitorial than the method which has often been pursued in later times. If he either contemned the admonition, or, after promising amendment, gave no proof of greater circumspection, then must the ministers admonish him; and if he proved disobedient, it was thought necessary to bring him to a sense of his guilt by more public methods. The order of excommunication was very severe; and after a certain space, this sentence was pronounced against every impenitent offender. The utmost diligence was used to convince and to instruct the offender, that he might be induced to apply the only means of securing the favour of God, and restoring him to the fellowship of

the Church. The most unequivocal testimonies of humiliation were required of those who professed to repent of their sins.

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In the enumeration of the various orders of offences appertaining on the one hand to the jurisdiction of the kirk, and, on the other hand, to that of the civil magistrate, the Reformers did not evince much discrimination. The principle on which the distinction was established appears to have been that the Church was to take cognisance of all crimes not capital. The following is the catalogue of those offences which were to be punished by the temporal judge: blasphemy, adultery, murder, perjury, and other crimes capital. "But drunkenness, excess—be it in apparel, or in eating and drinking—fornication, oppressing of the poor by exactions, deceiving of them in buying and selling by wrang met and measure, wanton words, and licentious living, tending to slander, do openly appertain to the kirk of God to punish them." Thus *blasphemy* was to be tried by the civil judge—*false weights and measures*, and other forms of *dishonesty*, by the spiritual courts. In practice, however, the Church began its career by falling into errors on the subject of ecclesiastical discipline, much more serious than any to be found in the book of policy. It would have been well if churchmen in this country had always acted on the principle of abiding steadfastly by their spiritual function, without incessantly imploring, as they did, the civil magistrate to assist, maintain, and fortify the discipline of the Church, by the imposition of such civil pains and penalties as fine and imprisonment, banishment, infamy, and even death. Every one may have heard, though few know the extent and aggravation, of the horrors endured by the wretched victims of superstition, who

Discipline
of the
Church in
relation to
the jurisdic-
tion of the
civil magis-
trate.

LECT.
VIII.

1560.

under the influence of delirium exposed themselves to the charge of witchcraft, and often in their expiring agonies accused innocent neighbours of the same imaginary crime. Nor was this the only offence on account of which the discipline of the Church invoked the avenging interposition of the civil government. Though the ministers disclaimed the power of exercising civil jurisdiction, they insisted on teaching the magistrate how it should be exercised according to the word; and this office they were not slack to fulfil, too often in utter disregard of the compunctious visitings of nature.

It must be remembered, also, that their claims of jurisdiction were not confined to the members of their own communion. Every living soul within the realm must either conform to the same profession, and practise the same worship, and submit to the same discipline, or undergo the vengeance of the law. If the ancient claims which were actually sustained were now to be reduced to practice, religious liberty would be at an end. A gentleman would not be allowed to educate his child unless the Church approved of the choice of a pedagogue. A stripling or a girl of the examinable age, must either communicate in the parish church, or else pay a fine according to the rank of the party. In the year 1600, and again in 1641, the Church prevailed on the State to impose fines on all non-communicants of the age of fifteen years complete. The fines on people of condition were very heavy, and every servant contravening the Act was liable to pay one year's fee *toties quoties*. These were powers actually granted to presbyteries, who had a right to crave, receive, and pursue for the penalties.

[Acta Parl.
Scot., iv.
231, and v.
395.]

The eighth head refers to the election of elders and deacons. Men of the best knowledge and most blameless life were to be put in nomination, and their names were to be read publicly to the whole Church, with an intention that from that number elders and deacons were to be chosen. The election was to recur once every year, lest men, by long continuance in office, should presume to encroach upon the liberty of the Church. The elders might continue in office several successive years, if they were appointed annually by free election ; but the deacons and treasurers were not to be compelled to receive the office again for three years.

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First Book
of Disci-
pline, Chap.
X. Elec-
tion of
Elders and
Deacons.

The elders, being elected, were to be admonished of their office, which was to assist the ministers in all public affairs of the Church—viz. in determining and judging causes, in giving admonition to the licentious, and in taking notice of the manners and conversation of all men within their charge. They were also to take heed to the manners, diligence, and study of their minister. If he were worthy of admonition, they must admonish him—of correction, they must correct him—and if worthy of deposition, they, with consent of the Church and Superintendent, might depose him. If the minister be light of conversation (much that follows is either altered, or altogether suppressed

Privy
censure of
ministers
by kirk-
sessions.

in Spotswood's edition of the First Book of Discipline), [Spotswood,
Hist., p.
168.] by his elders and deacons he ought to be admonished—if he be negligent in study, or one that waits not upon his charge or flock, or one that propones not faithful doctrine, he deserves sharper admonition and correction ; to which, if he be found stubborn and inobedient, then may the seniors of the kirk complain to the ministry of the two next adjacent kirks, where men of greater gravity are ; to whose admonition if

LECT.
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he be found inobedient, he ought to be discharged of his ministry, till his repentance appear, and a place be vacant for him. If any minister be apprehended in any notable crime, he ought to be deposed for ever. Heresy, adultery, perjury, were among the crimes enumerated. By heresy was meant pernicious doctrine plainly taught and openly defended against the foundations and principles of our faith ; and such a crime they judged worthy of perpetual deposition. Other crimes deserved deposition for a time. If a minister were apprehended drinking, brawling, or fighting, an open slanderer or infamer of his neighbours, factious, and a sower of discord, he must be commanded to cease from his ministry till he declared some sign of repentance. “ Every inferior kirk shall, by one of the seniors or elders, and one of the deacons, once in the year notify to the ministers of the superintendent’s kirk, the life, manners, study, and diligence of their ministers, to the end the discretion of some may correct the levity of others. Not only must the life of ministers themselves be subject to censure, but also of their wives, children, and family ; and judgment must be had that they live neither riotously nor avariciously. If a reasonable stipend be appointed, and they live avariciously, they must be admonished to live as they receive ; for as excess and superfluity are not tolerable in a minister, so is avarice and the careful solicitude of money utterly to be condemned in Christ’s servants, and especially in them that are fed upon the charge of the kirk.” They judged it unseemly that ministers should be boarded in taverns, and they disapproved of their “ haunting the court, unless for a time when either appointed by the Church, or called for by authority to give counsel in civil affairs.

Neither must a minister be a member of the council, be he judged never so apt for the purpose ; but either he must cease from the ministry (which at his own pleasure he may not do), or else from bearing charge in civil affairs, unless it be to assist the parliament, when called upon."

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It is evident from this paragraph, that the Reformers were most anxious to prevent the ministers of the gospel from having their minds withdrawn from their spiritual vocation by engaging in pursuits merely secular. And above all, they thought it would be most injurious to religion, if those who ought to conduct its solemnities, to illustrate its truths, and to enforce its precepts, were to be attracted either by ambition or interest, or even by the desire of serving the Church, into the perilous vortex of political intrigue. A minister, in their opinion, was not precluded by his office from giving advice in civil matters ; but to become a stationary member of the national council or any subordinate court was not conceived to be consistent with that sacred duty which he owed to the flock of whose souls he was bound to render an account, and for whose good he undertook to labour and to watch with unremitting diligence. The only other description of public duties, besides those of his pastoral office, for which a minister was expected to qualify himself, were those which were discharged by the teachers in colleges and universities—a capacity for discharging which was understood to be involved in the qualification for the ministry. This, however, in ordinary cases, was not understood to be a distinct profession. It was rather a temporary occupation, in which the more distinguished candidates for the ministry very often employed a few years after com-

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pleting their own course of instruction. It was a plan which must have roused the emulation and invigorated the exertions of every young man of talents, and which, by affording him an opportunity of distinguishing and improving himself, as well as benefiting others, during those years which intervened between the termination of his academical studies and the commencement of his more serious course of ministerial labours, was calculated to prepare him for filling the most eminent stations in the Church, and for taking an active part in the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. The system indeed might have been acted upon, and probably was often acted upon, so as to produce many other important advantages,—on which it is not our business to enlarge in this place. This was not an exception from the general rule prohibiting ministers to betake themselves to secular callings. The duties of a lecturer in the schools were understood to be an essential part of the preparation for the ministry. The Church was the chief guardian of education, and claimed the power of prescribing the plan of study as well as regulating and altering the internal discipline observed in the Universities. The teachers, therefore, were officers of its own, not only subject to its control, and amenable to its jurisdiction, but persons who were understood to be capable of fulfilling the functions of the ministry, whenever they were duly called to enter upon them; and even before they were called, they were expected and required to take a part in the weekly exercise of expounding the Scriptures, which all ministers and preachers were bound to attend regularly.

The office of deacons in the Church was very different from that of deacons in the Churches of Rome

and of England, who are ordained as preachers of the Word. The deacons of our Church were appointed to receive the rents of the Church, and to collect and distribute the voluntary contributions for the poor. They might also assist in judgment with the minister and elders, and might act as readers, if they were qualified.

The elders and deacons, with their families, were to be subject to the same censure with the ministers, because they were expected to be irreprehensible and exemplary in their conduct. No public subsistence was allowed to these officers, because they were to continue only for a year, and because they were not called upon to be so occupied with the affairs of the Church as to neglect their private concerns.

The ninth head is entitled, “Of the Policy of the Kirk.” This relates to the general order of proceeding in conducting divine service. There were two sorts of exercise for enlightening the ignorant, for animating the more advanced Christians, and for retaining the Church in good order. The one was utterly necessary, as that the Word should be faithfully preached, the sacraments rightly ministered, prayers publicly offered, the young and unlearned instructed, and the wanderers corrected and reclaimed. Without these necessary attentions, a visible Church could not subsist. The others were profitable, but not absolutely necessary—namely, that psalms should be sung, that places of Scripture should be read when there was no sermon, and that on certain days of the week the church should assemble. In these matters every particular church might appoint its own policy. A general rule was pointed out as more convenient than

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the Policy
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others,—but there is no express injunction with regard to these matters of subordinate importance.

In every notable town, it was required that one day beside Sunday should be appointed for sermon and prayers, and that during the time of sermon there should be no work done either by masters or servants. The form for every Sunday, as appointed in the Book of Common Order, is referred to as the most perfect ever used in the Church. The Word was to be preached in the forenoon, and the sacraments administered, as also marriage solemnised, if occasion offered. In the afternoon, children were to be examined by the minister in the Catechism subjoined to the Book of Common Order, and he was to be at great pains to explain to the congregation the questions proposed, and the answers and doctrines connected with them. For a long period this mode of catechising children in the afternoon was practised in the Church, and if the minister was diligent in tracing the connections between the different parts of the elementary book put into their hands, he had thus an easy mode of introducing both the young and the old to a familiar acquaintance with the system of revealed truth.^a This practice gave rise to the plan which was

^a [Speaking of the year 1574, the author, in his Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Sabbath Observance (1832), says: "The services of the Church of Scotland at that period were not nearly so tedious as has been commonly imagined. The general practice was at first to have a short sermon in the forenoon, and to catechise the people during the afternoon. Soon afterwards the practice was introduced of having two separate services, and generally there was catechetical instruc-

tion communicated in the evening. . . . I find in the record of St Andrews kirk-session, that in the year 1574, a practice was introduced of which the following account occurs: 'For good order to be observed in convening to hear the Word of God upon the Sabbath-day, and other days in the week when the Word of God is preached, as well of the students within colleges as inhabitants of this city, and others in the parish, the seat (or session) has ordained captors (afterwards named searchers) to

more generally followed in the next century, namely, what was called preaching catechetical doctrine, or giving a course of sermons arranged in the order of the Catechism.

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Baptism might be administered whenever the Word was preached; but it was thought better to order it to be administered only on Sunday, or on the day of prayers only after sermon. This regulation was made partly to remove the error of those who thought that children dying without baptism must be damned, and partly to make people have greater reverence for the

be chosen to visit the whole town, according to the division of the quarters, and to that effect every Sunday there shall pass a baillie (magistrate) and elder, two deacons and two officers, armed with their halberts, and the rest of the baillies and officers to be in attendance to assist to apprehend transgressors, to be punished conform to the acts of the kirk.' This practice was soon afterwards universally observed throughout all the towns of Scotland, and continued to be observed, I believe, with scarcely any interruption, for 150 years."

A number of particulars with regard to the service on Sundays will be found noticed in the Appendix. The following extracts from the author's separate notes relate chiefly to the week-day services:—

"2d Feb. 1571.—The said day for guid order to be observit, as has been of befor, twiching ye time of sermon als weil in teaching as hering, als weil on ye Sabbat dayes as on uther oulk wark-dayes, ye Sup^r w^t aviss, consent, and assent of ye seat, hes ordenid yat, in tyme cuming, the minister sal begin to teach upon Sunday ane little befor ten hours befor nwin, and end his teaching sone after eleven hours, and on ye oulk wark-day to begin at nyne hours before nwin, and end at

ten hours, or els to compass ye hour sa sone as he may."—*Records Kirk Sess. St Andrews*. (At this period, in St Andrews and other large towns, there were week-day sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays.) Another entry shows the form of the morning and evening prayers:—"14th Aug. 1597.—Mr Robert Zuill ordanit to read every day, morn and even (except ye days of public teaching), ane chapter of ye New Testament and ane other of ye Auld, befor none, beginning at Genesis and Matthew, w^t ane prayer befor and after, and evining sum psalmes, w^t ane prayer befor and after."—*Ibid*. It appears that, notwithstanding the practice referred to above, there was always difficulty in securing the due observance of the weekly diet or diets of preaching:—"5th April 1598.—Anent keeping of preaching on wark dayes. . . . The master craftsmen said they could not cause their servands or boyes keep their buith-doors closed in time of sermon. . . . referred to a mair frequent meeting."—*Ibid*. "26th Aug. 1610.—Act maid for ye better keeping of ye kirk on Twysdayis. The session convenit, statutes and ordanes y^t quhasnever beis apprehendit gangand idle at ye gavill, or at any uther common and public vennell,

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administration of the sacraments, as it was perceived that frequent repetition made them less impressive.

Four times in the year were thought sufficient for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and these times they wished to be so distinguished that the superstition of times might be avoided. Ministers were admonished to be more careful to instruct the ignorant, by sharp examination, than to admit them with undue indulgence. For the instruction of the people, the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were to be regularly read in the Church. Preaching was also required to be conducted in a regular series.^a The

or playand at any pastime, they sall pay *toties quoties*, ane wnlaw of twa s., to be applyit to ye use of ye puir."

—*Anstruther Wester Session Records*.

"1658, Nov. 16.—The session finding y^t ye week sermons were not frequentlie kepted, did unanimously agree upon and appoint ane intimation to be made from ye pulpit ye next Sabbath, y^t all should frequent ye ordinance on the week-sermon day, and y^t ye wilful neglecters y^rof sha be censured as the session thought fit, and be debarred from the Communion; and for that effect, inhibit the working in shops and selling of ale to any in time of ye public worship."

—*Crail Session-Book*. There were frequent (often half-yearly) changes in the time of the week-day services, to suit the convenience of the parishioners. Thus, an arrangement is applied for and obtained by the West Kirk Session, in 1644, in regard to the Thursday sermon, before the weekly meeting of Session, "to the effect the session m^t be exped be 12 hours, and so the sessioners go about their lawful business the rest of the day."—*West Kirk Session-Book*. Again: "June 9,

1575.—The kirk [of Edinburgh] ordanis Pat ye belman to ring ye last bell to ye preching every Wednesday and Fryday *sa lang as ye Lordis of ye Cession sits*, ane q^r of ane ho^r before aucht."—*Records of the Kirk Sessions of Edinburgh*.]—ED.

a [In practice, the session seems to have been consulted in the selection of the subjects, *e. g.*:—"29 Dec. 1565. The min^r takand consultation with the kirk quhat buk of the Scriptouris thai thoct expedient to be intratt for this present tyme haifand endit the evangellis buke. Efter ripe consultation, and invocation of the name of God, desiris him to begyne the Actes of the Apostilles, efter that he had endit the first chapter of Esay, quhilk he wes intrattand. The quhilk he promisit, God willing, to begyne upon the xiiij day of Januer instant."—*The Buik of the Kirk of Canagait*. "Ult. May 1598.—The qlk day it is thot gude be ye brethren y^t Mr George Gladstanes, minister, proceids in preaching of ye second book of Samuells, and ye buik of ye Kingis following upon ye Saboth day."—*Kirk Session Records of St Andrews*.]

people were to be examined before admission to the Lord's Table.

The next head is on "Prophesying," or interpreting of the Scriptures.

It was thought expedient in every town where there were schools, and any resort of learned men, there should be a weekly exercise for the trial and improvement of those who were employed in the service of the Church. The ministers, and other learned persons, in rotation, were to interpret some place of Scripture. One was first to give his opinion succinctly and soberly, without wandering from his text, or introducing exhortations, admonitions, or reproofs,—another was then to add what the first seemed to have omitted, or to confirm what he had said, by apt illustrations, or gently to correct any of his mistakes. In certain cases, a third might supply what seemed to have been imperfectly treated by the others. But above the number of three it was not thought expedient to proceed, for the sake of avoiding confusion.

The warrant for this exercise was taken from that passage in Paul's exhortations to the Church of Corinth (1 Cor. xiv. 29-33) : "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets. For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." This practice of having an exercise and addition was continued in the Church of Scotland, at the meeting of presbyteries, not only in the first age of the Reformation, but during the whole of the seventeenth

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century, and part of the eighteenth. One minister was appointed at every meeting to *exercise* on the following day, and another was appointed to *add.* Soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century, they became less regular than they had been in former times. In the course of twenty-one years from the restoration of presbyterial church government in 1638 to 1659, I find that the Presbytery of St Andrews, at their weekly meetings, went regularly through the Gospel according to John, generally having an exercise and addition on every verse. After the exercise was concluded, the two brethren who engaged in it were removed, and the others freely delivered their censures. They were then called in, and if any faults had been observed, they were to be noted, and the person received a gentle admonition. In this assembly all ministers within six Scots miles of the presbytery town were to convene, and such readers also as had any gift of interpretation.

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of Disci-
pline, Chap.
XIII. Of
Marriage.

The next head of the Book of Discipline treats of "Marriage." The ceremony was never to be performed in secret, however honourable the persons might be ; and to prevent improper consequences, public proclamation of the purpose of the parties was to be made three Sundays, unless they were so well known that no danger could arise,—in which cases the time might be shortened at the discretion of the minister. It was thought expedient that this relation should be entered into with religious solemnity on the Sunday forenoon.^a In cases of adultery, the opinion of our

^a [See also *Bulk of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 54, 192. From the records of the Assembly 1579, (July), it appears that previous to that date no uniform order had been observed, some ministers solemnising marriage only upon Sunday, and others upon week-days. This Assembly resolved that, "bands beand thrie severall Sondagis lawfullie proclaimit, the marriage may be any day

reformers was that the punishment of death ought to be inflicted.

Another division of the book relates to "Burial." It was thought expedient that, for avoiding superstition, there should be no reading, singing, or prayers on committing the body to the grave. The compilers did not altogether condemn the practice of having some religious service performed to admonish the living to prepare for death; but they judged it safer to abstain from it, lest weak and superstitious persons might suppose that such services would profit the dead. They also disapproved of funeral sermons,—both because they conceived that if men despised the ordinary preaching of the word, occasional exhortation would be of little avail, and because they were aware that either must the minister in populous places be occupied constantly in preaching funeral sermons, or else must they have respect

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of the oulk (week) solemnizat, swa that a sufficient number of witnes be present."—*Ib.*, p. 441. In the session registers occur frequent complaints of irregularities in connection with the celebration of marriage on the Sabbath :—*E. g.* "13th Sept. 1570. The session (of St Andrews) ordainit ane supplicatioun to be directed to ye magistrates, for reformation of ye grete abuse usit be new mareit persons in violation of ye Sabbat day, and in special y^e day of yair marriage afternwin they resort not to hering of ye doctrine, and at evin after supper, insolentlie, in evil example of uthers, perturbis ye town w^t rynnng y^e throw in minstrelaye and harlotry."—*Records of Kirk Session*. In 1643, (Nov. 1), the six sessions of Edinburgh "discharges absolutlie anie marriage to be solemnised upon the Lord's day, not as a thing unlawful in itself,

but because it occasioneth profanation of the Lord's day by such as must be employed for preparation of necessars thereto, as baxters, cooks, &c."—*Records of the Kirk Sessions of Edinburgh*. Many curious details might be added from the registers relative to the practice of the Church in solemnising marriage :—*e. g.* "Jan. 12, 1578. Comperitt Sir Jhone Tyrie and Janett Butter, and desyrit yair bannis to be proclaimitt, and baith ye parties fand Dioneiss Conquero^r caution, under ye pain of xx. lib. yat yai suld performe yis banne betwixt ye daitt heiroy and ye feast Fastrens ewin next to cum."—*Perth Session Register*. "7 Dec. 1613. Persons contracted to consign v. lib. that they shall marry within 40 days."—*Session Book of Crail*. "Aug. 30, 1592. Ordained y^e persons y^e ar to be maried in tym coming, befor they be maried they sall

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pline, Chap.
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of persons, preaching at the burial of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence at the departure of the poor.

The chapter for reparation of the kirks evinces a becoming regard, not only for the comfort of those who attended divine worship, but also for the external decorum to be studied in the public ministrations of religion.

The sixteenth chapter relates to the punishment of those that profane the Sacraments, and condemn the Word of God, and dare presume to minister them, not being lawfully called. The conclusion of the whole book I shall give in their own words.

[1. "Thus have we in these few heads offered unto your Honours our judgement; according as we are commanded, touching the reformation of things which heretofore have altogether been abused in this cursed

Conclusion
of the First
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Discipline.
[Dunlop,
Conf. ii.
603.]

consigne ane pund, qlk sall be as gud as fourtie sh. or therby, in pledg y^t y^r sal be na dansing nor insolent behavio^r w^out ther houss, or at least w^out ye boundes of y closs or yaird, and in caiss y^t ony sic thing be, the pledg or value yrof sall forfate, and at ye sight of ye session be employed on the poore."—*Session Book of Anstruther Wester*. The custom referred to in the following entries in the *Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait* probably implied like obligations:—"1630. Robt. Neill and Isabell M'Kinlay gave up their namis to be proclaimed and consignit ane gold signet ring . . . Jo. Moole and Elsp. Abernethy . . . consignit ane gold ring w^{it} ane quhyte stone." (Such consignations often occur in this register.) Persons contracted on any day except the ordinary session day, are required (*Session Record of Crail*, 1st Nov. 1608), "to pay xx. s., and persons married on any other than the

session day to pay vi. s. viii. d." There is a similar enactment by the six sessions of Edinburgh, 7th June 1643. In the case of marriage, as in the case of admission to the privilege of baptism and the communion, evidence was required of the religious knowledge of the parties:—"5th Aug. 1579. Ordained that nane be resawit to compleit ye band of matrimonie w^out they rehearss to ye reidar ye Lord's prayer, beleive (belief), and the commandments of God."—*St Andrews Session Record*. "Dec. 20, 1589. The qlk day it is statute and ordanete fra yis time furth, that nane sal be admittit to ye baptising of zair bairnes, nor mariage, nor repentance, nor haif almons of the kirke, bot yai that can say the Lord's prayer, ye belief, and x Commands, and gif ane compt yrof qn yai are examet, and yis to be publissit in ye polpete."—*Record of West Kirk Session, Edin.*—Ed.]

papistrie. We doubt not but some of our petitions shall appear strange unto you at the first sight : but if your Wisdomes deeply consider that we must answer not only unto man, but also before the throne of the Eternal God, and of his son Christ Jesus, for the counsell which we give in this so grave a matter, your Honours shall easily consider, that more assured it is to us to fall in the displeasure of all men in the earth than to offend the majesty of God, whose justice cannot suffer flatterers and deceitfull counsellors unpunished.

2. "That we require the Kirk to be set at such liberty that she neither be compelled to feed idle bellies, neither yet to sustain the tyrannie, which heretofore hath been by violence maintained, we know we shall offend many ; but if we should keep silence hereof, we are most assured to offend the just and righteous God, who by the mouth of his apostle hath pronounced that sentence, ' He that laboureth not, let him not eat.' If we in this behalfe, or in any other, require or ask any other thing, than by God's expresse commandment, by equity and good conscience ye are bound to grant, let it be noted and after repudiate ; but if we require nothing which God requireth not also, let your Honours take heed how ye gainstand the charge of him whose hand and punishment ye cannot escape.

3. "If blind affection rather lead you to have respect to the sustentation of those your carnal friends, who tyrannously have impyred above the flock of Christ Jesus, than that the zeale of Christ Jesus his glorie provoke and move you to set his oppressed Kirk at freedome and liberty ; we feare your sharpe and suddaine punishments, and that the glorie and honour of this enterprise be reserved unto others : And yet

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shall this our judgment abide to the generations following, for a monument and witnesse how lovingly God called you and this nation to repentance, what counsellors God sent unto you, and how you have used the same. If obediently ye heare God now calling, we doubt not but he shall heare you in your greatest necessitie ; but if, following your own corrupt judgements, ye contemne his voyce and vocation, we are assured that your former iniquitie, and present ingratitude, shall together crave great punishment from God, who cannot long delay to execute his most just judgements, when after many offences and long blindnesse, grace and mercy offered is contemptuously refused.

4. “God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the power of his Holy Spirit, so illuminate your hearts that ye may clearly see what is pleasing and acceptable in his presence, and so bow the same to his obedience, that ye may preferre his reveiled will to your own affections ; and so strengthen you by the spirit of fortitude, that boldly ye may punish vice and maintain virtue within this realme, to the praise and glorie of his holy name, to the comfort and assurance of your own consciences, and to the consolation and the good example of the posterity following. Amen.

“From Edinburgh, the 20 of May 1560.”]

Such was the First Book of Discipline. I make no further remarks on its contents, as they speak sufficiently for themselves. I have only to observe that many essential parts of it were never reduced to practice, not from any remissness on the part of the ministers, but because the men of power and property declined to strengthen their hands. We shall next consider the proceedings of the General Assemblies and other church courts.

LECTURE IX.

ALLEGED INEXPEDIENCY OF DISTURBING THE EXTERNAL POLICY OF THE CHURCH—FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY—ITS PROCEEDINGS—NAMES OF PERSONS RECOMMENDED FOR THE MINISTRY—DISPUTATIONS BETWEEN THE PAPISTS AND PROTESTANTS—SUPPLICATION TO THE LORDS OF SECRET COUNCIL IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORMED RELIGION—SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY—MODE OF SUSTAINING THE MINISTERS PROPOSED BY THE BARONS—KNOX'S OPINION OF IT—THE CONVENTION OF JUNE 1562—REGULATIONS REGARDING THE CENSURE OF MINISTERS AND ELDERS—OTHER PROCEEDINGS OF THIS CONVENTION.

THE First Book of Discipline, though not approved by the Parliament, was subscribed by a great number of the nobility and gentry, members of the Privy Council, who promised to forward it to the utmost of their power, providing that the bishops, abbots, priors, and other prelates and beneficed men who had joined the religion newly established, should retain their revenues during their lives, and out of these revenues sustain the ministers and ministry. According to Keith, the manuscript copy of Spotswood's History has preserved a tradition that several of the learned men employed in compiling the book recommended to their brethren to retain the ancient policy, purifying it only from its corruptions and imperfections; but John Knox, he says, preferring that course which was most adverse to the Church of Rome, and anxious to

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of disturb-
ing the ex-
ternal policy
of the
Church.

[Keith,
Hist., p.
492.]

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[Keith,
Hist., i. p.
495.
Spotswood,
Hist., 174.]

adopt the government of the Church of Geneva, persuaded the others to be led by his opinion. The MS. of Spotswood is also said by Keith to relate somewhat more minutely the story inserted in the printed editions, concerning the message sent by Archbishop Hamilton to Knox, advising him not to abolish the ancient policy till he were sure of obtaining a better in its place. "A more wise form of government," says Spotswood, "could not be devised than the external policy" thus recommended by Hamilton; and he adds, that "the remedy intended for removing one disease brought with it many infections, such as that age, and perhaps the succeeding, shall not see fully cured and put away." Keith, with his usual spirit of rancour against the Reformation, subjoins a note to this passage, saying, "The prelate here has been but too true a prophet." For my part, I am very willing that the prophetic visions of Spotswood should be entitled to the same faith with his historical narrations. A man of no great penetration is almost as likely to stumble on the truth in predicting future events, as in relating past occurrences, with regard to which he has no evidence which he can venture to quote. Men who have inquired more profoundly than either Spotswood or Keith ever did into the transactions of the reformers of this Church, do not believe either of these improbable stories concerning the Book of Discipline.

Knox, indeed, had but a small portion of the worldly wisdom of Hamilton and the other popish clergy, otherwise he would not have allowed himself and his friends to be so grossly overreached and deluded by the nobles, as they were with regard to the patrimony of the Church. The rapacity of the more powerful

laymen seized the property which ought to have been consecrated to the service of religion; and the ministers were doomed to endure all the discouragements of poverty, and the bitterness of hope deferred, while they were wasting their strength in their laborious exertions to confer the most essential benefits on their country and on the human race. It has been said by some writers, that if the ministers had made a stand at the very commencement of the Parliament, and insisted that the existence of the Reformation depended on their receiving an adequate provision, there can be no doubt that they would have secured all that was stated in the Book of Discipline as being necessary for their comfortable subsistence, and that the remainder would have been devoted to objects of importance to the country. It is much better, however, that they did not make any such stand. They were not cold-blooded men who calculated the cost and the hazard before they decided what part they were to act. Pecuniary gain did not enter into their estimate of the consequences of their vast undertaking. Many of them might have looked forward to mitres and lordly endowments as the reward of their adherence to the Church of Rome, and they might have been encouraged to quiet their consciences by assurances that the abuses of which they complained should be gradually and temperately rectified. But no such terms of accommodation suited their lofty and disinterested views. They were willing to forsake all their possessions and all their prospects of personal advancement; they did not shrink from struggling with difficulties and privations; they felt in their ardour for promoting the public good, that private considerations ought to be disregarded: and while it may be said

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that this enthusiastic elevation of mind could not but be chilled by the penury and indignity to which they were long exposed, it was certainly honourable to their characters, that though their spirits and their strength might be broken by long adversity, their integrity could not be shaken either by the suffering of present distress or the apprehension of future disaster. If they had said to the men of influence, "We are willing to fight the battles of the Reformation, but we expect to be paid for our services,—we will do our utmost to gain over the people to the great cause, but you must accede to our terms," they might have, indeed, put some unsteadfast great men to the test; but though they had gone no farther than prudence warranted, they would have been denounced as the mercenary and designing tools of a rebellious faction. Traduced and vilified they have certainly been, both by avowed enemies and by deceitful friends; but no man who has the smallest regard for veracity can charge them with having manifested any attachment to worldly gain. They acted with open and unsuspecting generosity, prompted by the noble impulse of doing good to the souls of their brethren; and though they failed to leave to their followers the inheritance of a richly endowed and splendid establishment, they bequeathed to them the far more valuable legacy of spotless names and high examples of heroic worth, which too many of their descendants have been incapable either of admiring or copying.

First General Assembly, 20 Dec. 1560.
[Booke of Univ. Kirk, p. 3.
Petrie, p. 222.]

A few days before the First Book of Discipline was subscribed by the Lords of the Secret Council, the General Assembly met for the first time. It was holden at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560. Forty-two members were present, according to the

enumeration in Calderwood's MS. Petrie mentions about the number of forty-four; but in the Book of the Universal Kirk, as well as Calderwood, the number is forty-two. Only six of the number are designed ministers—namely, John Knox, minister of Edinburgh; Christopher Goodman, minister of St Andrews; John Row, minister of Perth; David Lindsay, minister of Leith; William Harlaw, minister of the West Kirk by Edinburgh; and William Christison, minister of Dundee. The other members are styled commissioners of kirks, and many of these members became ministers soon afterwards.^a The representation of the different churches in this first national Assembly was by no means uniform or regular. Sometimes three commissioners appear for a single church, and in other cases only one or two commissioners represented the churches of a whole county. Though most of the members are styled commissioners, there is no evidence of their having been elected. We know more of the substance of their deliberations than of the forms by which they were regulated. The vital importance of forms did not then appear in so strong a light as in later times. Neither this nor any of the six following Assemblies had any president, or at least none is mentioned. No such officer was necessary to repress disorder. They proceeded with gravity, simplicity, and unanimity; and their consultations were conducted rather in the form of a friendly conference, than with that keenness of debate which at many subsequent periods characterised their meetings. In the first General Assembly there was certainly no dis-

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^a In Row's MS. History, it is said that there were twelve ministers and thirty elders; but though all whom he names may have been set apart to

the ministry either then or in a short time afterwards, it has not been generally understood that they all sat as ministers in that Assembly.

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inction of different orders of ministers ; so that it cannot be said with accuracy that from the very formation of our Church imparity prevailed to a certain extent. If the origin of our ecclesiastical legislation is to be referred to the General Assembly, it can be traced up to a period when all the ministers had equal dignity and equal authority ; and whatever might be the future eminence of Superintendents, it was altogether derivative, and capable of being either exalted or depressed by the constituent power from which it flowed.

We do not hear any very definite account of the authority by which the first General Assembly was convened. It seems to have been a voluntary concurrence of the members, brought together in consequence of previous communication, one with another, and virtually sanctioned by the tacit approbation of the estates of Parliament. It may, perhaps, be alleged that it was originally a self-constituted court ; but its powers were completely recognised by the Act of Parliament ratifying the Confession of Faith, and the other Acts abolishing the jurisdiction of the See of Rome and confirming the liberties of the Reformed Church.

Proceedings
of the first
General
Assembly,
[Keith,
493.]

The abstract of the proceedings of this first General Assembly, as preserved in Calderwood's MS., and transcribed into Keith's History, though evidently incomplete, is by no means uninteresting.

The Kirk of Restalrig, near Edinburgh, was ordered to be razed as a monument of idolatry, and the parishioners were required to repair to the Church of Leith.

A question of canon law was discussed, concerning marriage in the second and other degrees of consanguinity forbidden by the Pope ; and it was found that,

by the law of God, marriages might be solemnised between parties, in the second, third, and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, and such others as are not expressly prohibited by the word ; and it was thought good that the Estates of Parliament should approve this conclusion by law. It was accordingly declared by the sixteenth Act of the first Parliament of James VI., that all such marriages contracted after the 7th of March 1558 were lawful, and that the children of such marriages were legitimate. The Church interfered in this matter for a very obvious reason. The popes had not prohibited the marriages of persons within the fourth degree of consanguinity from any regard which they had for the sanctity of that relation, but that they might augment their power, and fill their coffers by granting dispensations. The Church of Scotland perceived the necessity of putting a stop to this delusion, and cutting off this source of revenue ; but the Parliament could not be expected to make a law on the subject, without previously obtaining the opinion of divines.

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[Act. Parl.
Scot., iii.
26.]

A petition concerning weights and measures was referred to the Parliament. An Act passed in the Parliament of 1563, for uniform weights and measures, "baith to burgh and land," and especially providing "that na burgh have ane wecht to buy with and ane other to sell with, different in wecht therefra," suggests to us a probable conjecture concerning the nature of this petition. It appears from it, at least, that civil regulations were not considered by the people as being altogether unworthy of the notice of the Church, though the Church declined to interfere further in these matters, than by referring to the proper court.

[Ibid., ii.
540.]

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Another civil matter was also recommended by the General Assembly to the consideration of the Parliament. It was thought expedient to desire the Estates to take order with the confirmation of testaments, that pupils and orphans might not be defrauded, and that laws might be made thereupon in their favour.

[Act. Parl.
Scot. iii. 24.]

Earnest supplication was also made to the Parliament and the Privy Council, that none should be suffered to be lords of session, sheriffs, stewards, bailiffs, or other judges ordinary, but those who professed the reformed religion. The ninth Act of the first Parliament of James VI. (1567), ordained that none bear office, or be member of any court within the realm, but such as professed the established religion, excepting such as had offices heritable or in liferent.

[Keith,
Hist. 499.
Booke of
Univ. Kirk,
p. 6.]

The Parliament and Council were also asked to inflict sharp punishment on persons whose names were to be presented to them, and other idolaters and maintainers of idolatry, who said mass, or caused it to be said, or were present at it, within the places, the names whereof were to be presented. These names are copied by Keith from the register. Notwithstanding the severity of the law passed about four months before this Assembly met, no instance is recorded of any punishment having been inflicted on the sayers or hearers of mass. Though we hear much of the intolerance of our Reformers, and though it must be admitted that they thought it criminal to tolerate error, it is certain that the severity of the laws which they conceived it to be their duty to enact, was tempered and restrained by the humanity of their dispositions, and that they not only did not put these laws in rigorous execution, but also made regulations, conceived in a very different spirit. This

General Assembly ordained, that such as had borne office in the Popish Church, if their conversation was honest, should be supported with the alms of the Church as other poor. It was thus that they were willing to requite those who had “despitefully used them, and persecuted them ;” and it will scarcely be affirmed that, in similar circumstances, the Catholic clergy would have acted more liberally towards them.

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At one of its meetings, this Assembly appointed the election of the ministers, elders, and deacons, to be made publicly in the Church, and the premonition to be made upon the Lord’s Day preceding the day of election.

The most interesting part of the record of this first Assembly consists of a catalogue of names. Certain persons were nominated by the commissioners of the different bounds, as being best qualified for preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and reading of the common prayers publicly in all kirks and congregations. Eight readers are recommended for Kyle, a populous district of Ayrshire, and for the same district another person *apt to teach* ; twenty-one persons in the bounds of St Andrews are nominated for ministering and teaching, and thirteen others in different parts of the country are described as apt and able to minister. The history of many of these persons is well known, and particularly those whose names are mentioned as being in St Andrews. The first name is Mr John Rutherford, long a celebrated professor of Philosophy in St Mary’s College, afterwards Principal of St Salvator’s College, and minister of Cults. The second is William Ramsay, second principal master of St Salvator’s College, and for many years

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persons re-
commended
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minister of Kembach. The third is James Wilkie, who had long been a regent in this university, at least ten years before the Reformation, and who became Principal of St Leonard's College. The fourth is Mr Robert Hamilton, who became a regent in St Mary's College about the year 1557, and who afterwards passed through the offices of third master, second master, and principal, being at the same time minister of St Andrews. The next name is Mr Patrick Constane (called Coustone in Keith), better known by the name of Patrick Adamson, afterwards minister of Ceres, nominated as the successor of George Buchanan in the principality of St Leonard's, though he never enjoyed the office, and at last Archbishop of St Andrews. The sixth is William Rhynd, minister of Kinnoul, and at the same time master of the Grammar School of Perth, a great literary institution, which was more numerous attended than all the Colleges of St Andrews in their most prosperous days. All these actually became ministers. The next-mentioned person probably acted as a preacher, but it is not certain that he ever had any particular charge, namely, William Skene, a professor in the New College, and Commissary of St Andrews : he was brother of Sir John Skene, the lawyer, who collected the Acts of Parliament. Next in order comes Archibald Hamilton, who had been appointed a regent in St Mary's College in 1558, and who was promoted from the professorship of Rhetoric to the station of third master in 1569, and to that of second master in 1575. It is not certain that he ever was a minister ; but he was several years an elder of the kirk-session. At last, from some motive which has not been explained, he apostatised from the Reformed Church, and went to France,

where he wrote some most virulent books against his former fellow-labourers. The next is the name of a far more excellent as well as a more learned man, Alexander Arbuthnot, who had become a regent in this university in the year 1556, who, after the Reformation, became minister of Logie-Buchan, and who, upon the deposition of Mr Alexander Anderson, was appointed Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, where he died in the year 1584, when he was deliberating on the propriety of accepting an invitation to be minister of St Andrews. The next name, James Kirkaldie, is not so well known. Mr David Colless, who follows him in the list, was a regent in St Leonard's College several years (three at least) before the Reformation, and continued some years afterwards : whether he became a minister or not I have not learned ; and I am equally uninformed with respect to three others in the list—William Scott, John Wood, and Robert Paterson. It is known that Mr William Scott of *Balverie* was accused in the General Assembly 1562 (June), for having been disobedient to the Superintendent of Fife. Mr David Wemes, next named, is said to have been minister of Carnbee ; two or three years afterwards a person of this name was minister of Ratho.^a Mr Thomas Buchanan, who succeeds in the enumeration, was the nephew of George Buchanan, the celebrated poet. Thomas Buchanan was a regent here in 1562 ; he appears afterwards to have taken charge of the Grammar School of Stirling, where he had the honour of instructing Robert Rollock, afterwards Principal of the College of Edin-

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[Keith,
514.]

^a [Some notices regarding Mr David Wemes are printed in the Appendix to his Life, in the Maitland Club edition of *Wodrow's Biographical Collections*, vol. ii., from a MS. which was in the possession of the author of these Lectures.—ED.]

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burgh. Buchanan became subsequently a member of this university, and was also minister of Ceres, and Provost of Kirkheugh. He is designed Commissioner of Fife in the year 1581. David Spence, recommended next to Buchanan, became minister of Carnbee, and was at the same time a member of this university. Robert Kynpont, whose name occurs next in order, was, during this and one or two following General Assemblies, an elder for St Andrews. He had entered the university here by the name of Robert Kylpont; but he is much better known as Robert Pont, minister of Dunkeld in 1562, afterwards Commissioner of Murray, then minister of St Cuthbert's, or the West Kirk, near Edinburgh, and for twelve or thirteen years a Senator of the College of Justice (or Lord of Session), as well as a minister. He was afterwards nominated to the bishopric of Orkney; but he refused to accept the dignity without the approbation of the Church. He is known as the author of sermons, and some political works, one of which related to the Union of Scotland and England.^a The next name is that of a person not less eminent in his day, though the remains of his learning are more scanty, John Wynram of Kirkness. He had been Subprior of St Andrews nearly thirty years; before that time he had been third prior of the convent. He was a member of this university more than fifty years, and is designed Professor of Theology. In some of the earliest notices of him, he is also called Vicar of Dow, and I do not know what other preferments he might hold; but he continued after the Reformation to enjoy the fruits of some of his former benefices, and he became also Superintendent of Fife,

^a [See also Appendix.]

Fotherick, and Strathearn. He had been a man of talents and of engaging dispositions, but more fitted for the cloister than for the active duties of a dignified clergyman. He is understood to have written a book, no copy of which is now known to exist; and while he was attached to the Romish Church he occasionally preached. Before the Reformation, he must have been rather advanced in life, and he was by no means capable of the exertions required of a man placed in the elevated and difficult station of a Superintendent. The conversion of a man who held so high a rank in the Church of Rome must have made a strong impression in the country; and perhaps the Reformers thought it necessary to make a sacrifice to public opinion, by assigning one of the chief offices in their disposal to a man who stood high in the estimation of the world. But I conceive that they would have acted a wiser part if they had selected a man of humbler name, and inferior pretensions, whose mind was yet in its full vigour, and who had yet to acquire his reputation as a man of letters and a divine. But Wynram was one of those men who, without any brilliant merits, contrive to make themselves of consequence among their contemporaries by an imposing show of sagacity, or by some acts of insinuation and address, which are often mistaken for high talents. Two other names in St Andrews appear to have been well known at the time: Alexander Spens, a regent in one of the colleges in 1558, and who at this time was appointed minister of Kilconquhar; and David Guild, who had seven years before been a master of the Old College;—he continued to hold that office, along with the ministerial charge of one of the adjacent churches.

Thus one-half of the ministers who were recom-

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 1560. lately been, members of the University of St Andrews.
 It is said that nearly the same number of preachers
 issued from the Augustinian Convent, so that this city
 was at that time the chief nursery of the Church.

[Knox, 261; Leslie, 574-577; Keith, 500.] In the interval between the first and second General Assemblies, some disputations took place between the Papists and the Protestants. The accounts given of them by Knox and by Leslie, Bishop of Ross, are as different as possible. Keith chooses to give the preference to Leslie's narrative, though he cannot conceal the inaccuracy and inconsistency into which this author has fallen, in asserting in one page that Knox, Willock, and Goodman, were so confounded by some professors from Aberdeen, that they never ventured again to dispute with the Catholics, and soon after, describing several other contests in which the victory was doubtful. Some of these disputes were printed at the time, and are still extant.

Second General Assembly. [Keith, 501.] The second General Assembly of our Church, according to Keith, met on the 26th of May 1561. It is understood to have been resolved at the first Assembly, that in future this court should meet twice in the year.

The account of the second Assembly is more scanty than the first. The names of the members are not registered, and in Keith's judgment the preamble prefixed to it by Knox and Calderwood is such as to imply that it was "a hasty and tumultuary concourse;" but he adds, "the register takes especial care not to discover any such matter." I cannot discover any such matter in the authors to whom he refers. The expression of Knox, indeed, may be understood to imply that the intemperate conduct of the Papists made

it necessary for the Protestant brethren to assemble ; but as the Assemblies were in time coming held about the same season (May or June), his meaning probably is, that the conduct of the adversaries before the appointed time of meeting gave rise to the deliberations and resolutions which ensued. Knox's words are, "The brethren understanding what the Papists meant (by their threatenings), convened in council, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 27th day of May 1561, and, after consultation, concluded that an humble supplication should be presented to the Lords of the Secret Council." This is not saying that the assembly had not been previously determined upon ; and the manifest construction of the words is, that at the appointed meeting the brethren were led into an unexpected discussion. Knox says that this matter was considered on the 27th of May. According to the register, the Assembly met on the 26th ; but it is not certain that this was the first day of meeting, and from some appearances it might be inferred that there is a chasm in the register, as it certainly begins abruptly. The supplication is dated on the 18th, which is supposed to be a mistake in the press for the 28th, the day after the first meeting, according to Knox ; but it is not impossible that the petition might be prepared ten days before, and that though it was reserved for the approbation of the Assembly, the original date was retained. Petrie, who, like the other writers of his age, is not always correct in his dates, says that the meeting took place on the 17th of May, and that it was a meeting of Commissioners appointed by the Assembly. Accordingly, Petrie does not number this among the General Assemblies at all. And it is to be remarked that Knox does not give it any such name, but merely speaks of

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[Knox,
271.]

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it as a meeting which was collected for a particular purpose. The fact is, that the first General Assembly was never dissolved. It adjourned from the 27th of December to the 15th of January, and Commissioners (one at least from each Kirk) were appointed for requiring such things of the Parliament as shall be required for the weal of the Kirk. These Commissioners did not meet in January (there was no Parliament then); but they seem to have been on the watch, and they came together when they perceived it to be necessary. At all events, the deliberations of this meeting must be considered as throwing important light upon the state of the Church and the country, and as illustrating some of the principles of the Reformers.

The Assembly's
supplication to
the Privy
Council.
[Knox,
271, &c.]

The Papists had gathered courage in proportion as they perceived that the just claims of the Protestants were disregarded by the nobility, that the approbation of the Book of Discipline was evaded by the Parliament, and that the earnestness of some promoters of the Reformation began to decay immediately after they had possessed themselves of the spoils of the Church. So transported were they with these appearances that they could not disguise their hopes of overturning all that had been effected. "They began to brag," says Knox, "as though they would have defaced the Protestants; which thing perceived, the brethren assembled together and went in such companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the bishops and their bands forsook the causeway." Convening on the 27th of May 1561, Knox adds, they agreed to present a supplication to the Lords of Secret Council, and to the whole Assembly (by Assembly he means the Convention of Estates), in which the subsequent heads should be required, and a law to pass upon them:—

1. That idolatry, and all monuments of it, should be suppressed throughout the realm ; that the sayers, maintainers, and hearers of the mass should be punished according to the Act of Parliament.

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2. That certain provision be made for maintaining superintendents, ministers, and readers ; that superintendents be planted where none are ; that punishment be appointed for such as disobey or contemn the superintendents.

3. That punishment be appointed for such as abuse or contemn the sacraments.

4. That no letters of Session, nor warrant from any judge, be given to answer or pay tithes to any person, without special provision that the parishioners retain so much in their hands as is appointed to the minister ; and that all such as are given heretofore be called in and discharged.

5. That the Lords of the Session, or other judges, proceed not upon such precepts or warnings passed at the instance of them which lately have obtained feus of vicarages, manses, and kirk-yards ; and that six acres be always reserved to the ministers, according to the appointment of the Book of Discipline.

6. That no letters of Session, nor other warrant, take place, until the stipends contained in the Book of Discipline for maintenance of the ministers be first consigned in the hands at least of the principal parishioners.

7. That punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home, or execute, within this realm, the Pope's bulls.

On the 28th of May the Kirk convened, after hearing the supplication and articles read, ordained them to be presented to the Secret Council, and for that pur-

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pose nominated the brethren after-mentioned:—the Master of Lindsay ; the Laird of Ferniehirst, elder ; Thomas Menzies, Provost of Aberdeen ; the Laird of Lochinvar ; the Laird of Wittinghame ; and George Lovell, burgess of Dundee.

The Lords of Secret Council granted an ordinance corresponding to every head of the articles and supplication, and commanded letters to be issued to that effect.

The Supplication (as it is called) is expressed in very strong language. It affirms in the beginning that “the pestilent generation of that Roman Antichrist within this realm” pretend that they will anew erect their idolatry, rule over the consciences of the true subjects of the realm, and command them to obey their wills. “But before that ever these tyrants and dumb dogs empire above us, and above such as God has subjected to us, we, the barons and gentlemen professing Christ Jesus within this realm, have fully determined to hazard lives and whatsoever we have received from God in temporal things. We most humbly, therefore, beseech your honours, that such order may be taken, that we have not occasion again to take the sword of just defence into our hands.” They conclude by saying, “Let these enemies of God assure themselves, that if your honours put not order into them, that we shall shortly take such order that they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debtors to them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papists be yet once again assured that their pride and idolatry we will not suffer.”

This paper bears that it is “directed from the As-

sembly of the Kirk ;” but if it is to be reckoned an Assembly at all, it was most probably, as I have already said, really an adjournment of the first Assembly rather than the meeting of a second.

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The second General Assembly according to Petrie, or the third according to Keith, met in December. The ministers and superintendents convened, but the nobility refused. A message was sent to them by certain ministers, but some made one excuse and some another, and some pretended to doubt the expediency of such Assemblies without the Queen’s allowance. The ministers, however, insisted that if the freedom of Assemblies were taken away, it would be impossible to keep good order and unity of doctrine. It was then suggested, that, if the Queen were suspicious of the Assemblies, she might be pleased to send commissioners to hear what was proposed or reasoned. She did not, however, send any. What passed at this Assembly is not very distinctly known. The ministers, indeed, required that the Book of Discipline should be approved ; but no attention was paid to this request.

General
Assembly,
Dec. 1561.
[Petrie, 230.
Keith, 508.
Booke of
Universal
Kirk, p. 11.]

“The Barons,” says Knox, “perceiving that the Book of Discipline was refused, presented to the nobility certain articles, requiring idolatry to be suppressed, the Kirk to be planted with true ministers, and some certain provision to be made for them, according to equity and conscience. . . . And so devised they, that the kirkmen” (the former clergy) “should have intromission with the two parts of their benefices” (that is, with two-thirds), “and that the third part should be lifted up by such men as thereto should be appointed, for such uses as in the acts are more fully expressed.”

Mode of
sustaining
the minis-
ters pro-
posed by the
barons.
[Knox,
296.]

Nothing could be more precarious and humiliating than the mode in which the ministers were appointed

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to be sustained. Two-thirds of the benefices were retained by the popish clergy. The remaining third was to be delivered into the hands of a collector for the Queen. The ministers and superintendents were to have a sum modified for their support, and the surplus was to become a part of the revenue of the Crown. In the hope of obtaining this accession of wealth, the Queen assented to the proposed measure ; but it was only a small portion of it which ever reached the Treasury. Many of the clergy were permitted to retain the third, which they ought to have surrendered. Out of the same source many persons were provided, and there may be some ground for questioning the integrity of the collector. Of the pittance assigned to the ministers no regular account was rendered ; the highest sum allotted to any of them was three hundred merks (about sixteen guineas), and the third part of that sum was thought enough for most of them.

Knox's
opinion of
this scheme.
[Knox,
300.]

Knox was exceedingly dissatisfied with this arrangement, by which the ministers of the Popish Church got full two-thirds of their former overgrown revenues, and the Queen, or her favourites, the greater part of the remainder. "If the end of this order, pretended to be for the sustentation of the ministers, be happy," he said, "my judgment fails me, for I see two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil. Ere long the devil will have three parts of the third, and then judge what God's portion shall be." Upon this Secretary Lethington rejoined, that "if the ministers were sustained the Queen would not at the year's end get enough to buy her a pair of new shoes." The persons appointed to modify the allowances of the ministers were generally understood before that time to be zeal-

ously attached to the cause of reformation, but some of them proved, soon afterwards, to have been unworthy of the character which they had assumed. Knox, after reciting their names, complains of their conduct with eloquent indignation. "Who would have thought," says he, "that when Joseph ruled in Egypt, his brethren should have travelled for victuals, and have returned with empty sacks to their families? Men would rather have thought that Pharaoh's *pose* (repositories), *treasure*, and *garnells* (granaries), should have been diminished, ere the household of Jacob should stand in danger to starve for hunger. But so busy and circumspect were the modifiers that the ministers should not be over-wanton, that one hundred merks was sufficient to a single man being a common minister, and three hundred merks was the highest appointed to any, except the superintendents and a few others. Shortly, whether it was the niggardness of their own hearts, or the care they had to enrich the Queen, we know not, but the poor ministers, readers, and exhorters, cried out to the heavens that neither were they able to live upon their stipends, neither could they get payment of the small thing which was appointed." It is needless now to dwell upon this subject; but these "modifiers," as Knox chooses to call them, were certainly the enemies of their country, inasmuch as they frustrated all the wise and liberal views of the Reformers. Not only did they keep the ministers in a state of want and dependence, approaching to mendicity, but they left all the institutions dedicated to the purposes of education totally unprovided for, out of the funds of the Church or the nation. The University of St Andrews, for instance, continued to be supported by the rents assigned

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[Knox,
301.]

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to it by popish archbishops; and even the appointments of the masters, in the largest of the colleges, were allowed still to be at the disposal of the greatest enemy to the reformed religion. How this could operate to the advancement of truth, they do not seem to have inquired; or if they knew, there is no evidence that they regarded the circumstance as of any importance either to that generation or to generations unborn.^a

Some persons believe that if the ministers had possessed common prudence, they would not have been suffered to pine in neglect. But let it never be mentioned to their reproach that they disdained to flatter a corrupted court, that they scorned to speak smoothly when their duty called them to reprove with authority, and that they were incapable of stooping so low as to call the vile person bountiful.

Fourth
General
Assembly,
or Conven-
tion of June
1562.
[Booke of
the Univ.
Kirk, p.
13.]

The fourth General Assembly (according to the common numeration) was holden at Edinburgh in June 1562. Five superintendents were present, and thirty-two other members are named, one half of whom were ministers and the others elders. In the register it is called the Convention of the Kirk of Scotland. It assembled in the house of a private individual, Mr Henry Law.

Censure of
Ministers by
the Assem-
bly appoint-
ed.

In the first session, for trial of the ministers and superintendents, it was ordered, that ministers should be first tried in their life, conversation, and doctrine, and the elders to be charged to declare, according to their conscience, what they know of their minister's doctrine, manners, and diligence in his office. If any be accused and convicted of any notable crime, he must be subjected to the censure of the Kirk, and suf-

^a See Appendix, No. VII.

fer punishment and admonition as the Assembly shall think good. After the ministers, the elders must be tried. The accused, whether minister or elder, was to be removed out of the Assembly till his cause be tried, and if convicted, he was to have no vote till the Assembly received satisfaction.

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After trial of the whole number, every superintendent, with the ministers and elders, must exhibit to the Assembly the state of the churches in their bounds, and the offences and crimes they know, to the end some remedy might be devised.

It was ordained that if ministers were disobedient to superintendents in anything belonging to edification, they must be subject to correction.

It was ordained that a charge should pass from every superintendent to all ministers in their bounds to warn their kirks of the order taken ; that the said superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons, do willingly subject themselves to discipline, and if any man have anything to lay justly to their charge, that they do it at the next Assembly in December ; and that no minister leave his flock for coming to the said Assembly, except he have complaints to make, or else be complained upon, or at the least be warned thereto by the superintendent.

On this last order it is to be remarked, that all the ministers who could attend seem at first to have come freely to the General Assembly, and to have acted as members. At the Assembly which met in the summer, the greater number might attend without much inconvenience ; but when an Assembly was required to convene in December, it must have been a most serious undertaking for the ministers at a distance to repair to the metropolis, and it was thought expedient to dis-

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suade all those from coming who were not called by some weighty business, or who were not at least warned by the superintendent. It has been supposed by Episcopalian writers that the superintendents had the power of appointing the members of the General Assembly ; but there is no proof that they had any such permanent commission, although, for the sake of convenience, they were on this occasion authorised to send notices to their brethren.

Superin-
tendents.

It was enacted, however, in the second session,—
1. That ministers should be subject to the superintendents in all lawful admonitions, as is prescribed in the Book of Discipline, and in the Form of Election of Superintendents ; 2. That so many ministers as have been accepted of their kirks shall remain as lawful ministers, unless they have been found criminal in life and doctrine ; 3. That the examination of all who have not been already examined shall be in presence of the superintendent, providing always that the judgment of the best learned present be sought in the examination and admission ; 4. That superintendents take account what books the minister hath in store the time of their visitation, and how the ministers profit from time to time. All this does not imply any great pre-eminence on the part of the superintendents.

At this time Mr Alexander Gordon, formerly Bishop of Galloway, pretended to be presented by the Lords of the Secret Council to be Superintendent of Galloway ; but the Assembly refused to acknowledge him unless the province of Galloway asked him to be the superintendent, and unless he also subscribed the Book of Discipline.^a There are several other instances in

[Calderwood, Hist.,
p. 32.
Calderwood
MS. and the
Original
Register.]

^a [Some of the proceedings of the 1562, have for at least one hundred Assembly, or rather Convention, of years been a matter of dispute : for

the record of this Assembly, which prove that the Church did not yield any peculiar deference to those who held this office, but in fact treated them, in all respects, like ordinary ministers of the Word.

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instance, the entry with relation to the Bishop of Galloway, Mr Alexander Gordon, who, it is said by Calderwood (Hist., p. 32), was refused admission to the office of superintendent because he had not observed the order of calling superintendents, and in the mean time was required to *subscribe the Book of Discipline*. That any such order was communicated to him has been strongly denied, and not without reason, because the book which in Scotland was looked upon as the transcript of an authentic record of the Church, does not contain any such fact. I have recently had access to the records of the Church of Scotland in Sion College, London, and I may now state with confidence, that this particular is inserted in the [original] records of the Church.

I have had occasion to say that I questioned whether the First Book of Discipline had ever been recognised formally by the General Assembly. Now, though this meeting was not properly a General Assembly, but what was called a Convention of the

Church, yet certainly in the passage I have referred to there is a recognition of the book. At the same time it is equally certain that in the following year a committee was appointed in such terms as evidently imply that the Book of Discipline was not considered by any means as permanently binding on the Church.

The following is the minute of the appointment of the Committee:—

“ 1563, Dec. 29.—It was tho' needful for further affirmation of the Buik of Discipline, y^t the Erle Merschell, &c. (nine others), ony three or four of yame oversie ye said buik, and diligently consider the contents yrof, noting the judg^t in writing, and to report the same to the next Assemblie General of the Kirk (or if ony Parliament happen to be in the meantyme, y^t yai report ye saidis judgment to the Lords of the articles).”—*Buik of the Universal Kirk*, p. 21, in our copy. The minute is contained in the original in Sion College, p. 63.—(*Evidence on Patronage, and Separate MS*, 1834.)]

LECTURE X.

CONVENTION OF JUNE 1562 (CONTINUED)—SUPERINTENDENTS—CONSISTORIAL JURISDICTION OF THE CHURCH—GENERAL ASSEMBLY—TRIAL OF SUPERINTENDENTS—POWERS GIVEN TO SUPERINTENDENTS IN TRANSLATION OF MINISTERS—UNIFORMITY OF DIVINE SERVICE ENJOINED—GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT PERTH—PAUL METHIVEN—CASE OF MR JOHN BALFOUR—INSTRUCTORS OF THE YOUTH TO BE SUCH AS PROFESSED CHRIST'S TRUE RELIGION—SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—MODERATOR TO BE CHOSEN IN FUTURE ASSEMBLIES—COMPLAINTS AGAINST MINISTERS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY, JUNE 1564—LIMITED POWER OF SUPERINTENDENTS—GEORGE BUCHANAN—ANDREW SIMSON—TRANSLATION OF MINISTERS—GENERAL ASSEMBLY, DECEMBER 1564—ORDER OF PROCEDURE IN THE ASSEMBLY—ARTICLES PRESENTED TO THE QUEEN—COMMISSIONERS TO VISIT THE CHURCHES—ANOTHER ASSEMBLY—COMPLAINTS OF WANT OF MINISTERS AND INFREQUENCY OF THE DISPENSATION OF ORDINANCES—SUPPLICATION TO THE QUEEN IN BEHALF OF THE CHURCH.

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ADHERING to our plan of considering those matters only which throw light on the internal condition of the Church of Scotland, and passing over as slightly as possible the political events which affected its welfare, we shall now continue the account of the proceedings of the supreme legislative and judicative court, as it was constituted at the time of the Reformation. We were engaged at our last meeting with the transactions of the General Assembly, or rather Convention, which met on the 29th of June 1562,

and we had occasion to take notice of a few particulars, which added to the information contained in the First Book of Discipline relative to the office of superintendents. It does not appear to me that these particulars furnish any proof that the Assembly enlarged the powers of superintendents permanently, but that for the sake of convenience they remitted causes of different descriptions to the consideration of these local authorities.

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Thus the Superintendent of Lothian was ordained to summon the pretended minister of Strabroke (Michael Smith), to clear himself of certain crimes of which he was accused, and Mr George Hepburn, parson of Hawick, to answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. The slander raised upon Mr Robert Hamilton,^a minister of Hamilton, was remitted to the trial of the Superintendent of Glasgow, to remove him out of the ministry if he thought expedient. Superintendents.

It was required also that persons nominated to kirks should not be admitted without the nomination of the people, and due examination and admission of the superintendent.

The superintendent was also declared to be the organ through whom complaints should be made to the Assembly by those ministers, exhorters, and readers whose provision was inadequate to the supply of their wants.

At this Assembly various ministers were named to supply large districts, and to labour from time to time in particular parishes ; others were directed to serve wherever the superintendent should appoint them. Mr Robert Pont, who sat in this Assembly as elder and commissioner for St Andrews, was appointed to

^a Another Mr Robert Hamilton was minister of Mauchline and Ochiltree.

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minister till the next Assembly in Dunblane. “The harvest was great,” it is said by Calderwood (MS. History), “and the labourers few ; therefore were they driven to devise this kind of supply and help.”

A complaint was made to this Assembly, the answer to which shows in a singular light the views of the Church with respect to the office of those ministers who at that time are supposed to have exercised a power analogous to that of bishops in their dioceses. One of the commissioners or members of Assembly for the kirk of Calder, complained that since John Spotswood, their minister, was elected Superintendent of Lothian, the parish was often deprived of the preaching of the Word, and they requested either that their minister should be restored to them, or that a qualified minister should be provided in his place. The Assembly answered, that the profit of many churches was to be preferred to the profit of one particular church ; that the church of Calder should either be occupied by the Superintendent himself, or by some other qualified person in his absence, which could not be otherwise helped in this rarity of the ministry ; and that they should have complained when the public edict was set forth, twenty days before his admission.

There is something in this decision which is not very obviously reasonable—I would almost say it was preposterously inconsiderate, and at variance with the sound exercise of reflection. It could scarcely be expected that the parishioners of Calder could anticipate all the disadvantages and inconveniences which might afterwards arise from the appointment of their minister to the office of superintendent ; and if they were led to expect that the appointment was only to

withdraw him from them for a time, they could not be blamed for expressing their disappointment when they found that they suffered from his frequent absence. When he could not attend, another person was to be appointed to minister among them. If the circuit of the Superintendent had been intended merely to supply the vacant churches with sermon, it might have been as well to allow the person who officiated at the parish church of Calder in absence of the minister, to travel through the bounds, and to preach successively in every church. But as the chief object was to put in execution the necessary regulations for establishing churches in every part of the country, it was necessary that this duty should be performed by a functionary invested with authority for that specific end, and known to be peculiarly qualified for services of more than ordinary importance.

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In this Assembly it was agreed to petition the Privy Council, either to transfer the judgment of cases of divorce to the kirk-sessions, or to establish men of good lives, knowledge, and judgment, to possess this jurisdiction. Causes of divorce had formerly been tried by the court of the bishop, or his official; at this time they were brought under the cognisance of the superintendent and his session,—and in the course of the following year they were remitted to the cognisance of commissaries appointed by the Government, but not with the consent or good-will of the Church.^a

Consistorial
Jurisdiction
of the
Church.

^a[For a few years subsequent to the Reformation, the ministers and elders sitting in session, exercised a consistorial jurisdiction, particularly in matrimonial causes (similar to that which had been previously exercised by the Bishops' Court, or the Court

of the Official), and frequently pronounced sentences of divorce or dissolution of the conjugal tie. In 1564 the Commissary Court of Edinburgh was erected by royal charter for judging in such matters, as well as for confirming wills, and for cases of defa-

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General
Assembly,
Dec. 1562.

The next General Assembly met on the 25th of December in 1562. In their winter meetings, the Church seems to have purposely fixed on Christmas day, to show that they did not regard it as a festival which ought to be kept sacred. The ministers being

nation; but long after this court was established the Church of Scotland continued to demand as a right what appears never to have belonged to them by any other title than the presumption that, when the spiritual courts of the bishops and their officials were abolished by Parliament in 1560, the Protestant Church, without any express warrant, was, as a matter of course, to be served heir to all that their predecessors had forfeited. On the 1st of March 1570, the following, among other articles pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Kirk, was presented by the General Assembly to the Regent and Privy Council:—"That because the conjunction of marriages pertains to the ministry, the causes of adherents and divorcements ought also to pertain to them as naturally annexed thereto." This matter continued to be represented as a grievance in the Second Book of Discipline (inserted in the record of Assembly in 1581), ch. xi. § 17, where it is said:—"The dependencies, also, of the papistical jurisdiction are to be abolished, of the which sort is the mingled jurisdiction of the commissars, in so far as they meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and have no commission of the Kirk thereto, but were erected in the time of our Sovereign's mother, when things were out of order." Some people have asserted that the Second Book of Discipline was ratified by the Act of Parliament 1592; but this is so far from being the case, that of this very date we find an act entitled, "Ratification of the Commissariat of Edinburgh,"

declaring that jurisdiction to be "as ample, and of the same force and authority with the jurisdiction of the officials whom they succeeded, and to have been from the beginning, and to be in all time coming, a lawful and ordinary judgment-seat, and to brook the privileges thereof." The jurisdiction of this court is expressly said to extend to spiritual causes, and it is not declared that ecclesiastical persons are exempted from it.

In reality, there is scarcely a shadow of evidence that the ministers of the early Christian Church had any connection even with the celebration of marriages. Dr Bingham indeed asserts that, for the first three hundred years of the Christian era, marriages were solemnised by the clergy; but he admits that the mixture of heathens and Christians occasioned many extraordinary cases. Selden has maintained the fact to be quite the reverse. Tertullian has some reference to the benediction of the Church, as having been a practice in the second century; but even according to his account, the ceremonies were in a great measure pagan, and it is certain that the State not only claimed, but possessed the power of enacting the laws of marriage. No form or office of marriage can be traced earlier than the eighth or ninth century, when the State recognised the celebration of the rites of marriage by the Church. "The intervention of the priest in the marriage contract," says Blackstone, "is merely *juris positivi*, and not *juris naturalis aut divinis*."]

absent from their charges on that day, must have left their flocks destitute of divine service, and the business in which they engaged when they assembled was very different from the solemnities which the Episcopalians regarded as essential to the occasion.

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At this Assembly, superintendents, ministers, and commissioners met in what Calderwood's MS. calls the old council-house. Row's MS. History states that John Knox moderated in this, and in the former Assembly. The register merely says that "John Knox, minister of Edinburgh, called upon God's name for the assistance of his Holy Spirit."

In the second session of this Assembly, held on the 28th of December, the superintendents were tried. Spotswood, the Superintendent of Lothian, was absent, and he was in the mean time passed over.

The Superintendent of Fife was removed, and the ministers and commissioners of the province were required to declare whatever they had to lay to his charge, touching his manners, conversation, doctrine, and execution of his office. Several ministers alleged against him, that he was somewhat slack in his visitations, and remained not at the kirks for ordering such things as were necessary ; that he was too much given to worldly affairs, slack in preaching, rash in excommunication, and sharper than became him in making acts for payment of small tithes. This accords with the account which I formerly gave of Wynram, as a man by no means well adapted to his important charge. I rather suppose, too, that he was ambitious of honour, and that he was not satisfied unless he was addressed as a man of episcopal rank. I find him occasionally styled in the minutes of his session,

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"My Lord Superintendent." ^a The Superintendent of Angus, Erskine of Dun, was next removed. It was laid to his charge, first, that there were many popish priests, of wicked life and of insufficient capacity, admitted as readers; second, that some young men were rashly admitted to the ministry, and to be exhorters, without such trial as is required in the Book of Discipline; third, that gentlemen of vicious life were chosen to be elders in some churches; fourth, that several ministers under his jurisdiction remained not at their churches, that they visited not the sick, and that they neglected to instruct the young; fifth, that some ministers came too late to the churches where they should preach on the Lord's day, so that the people were quite wearied before their arrival, and also that, whenever the sermon was finished, they departed immediately; sixth, that the ministers resort not to the exercise, according to the order set down in the Book of Discipline. All these are serious charges, deeply affecting the character of the Superintendent of Angus; but what notice was taken of them does not appear. The Superintendent of Lothian, having come in during this session of the Assembly, was likewise tried, and was required to visit some of the churches more frequently. The ministers, as well as the superintendents, were tried, but nothing seems particularly to have been laid to their charge.

In the third session of this Assembly, it was

^a [E.g.: "*Penult. Martii* 1569. James Thomson, in Balmerino, summoned with my Lord Superintendent's letters." And another person also summoned "with my Lord Superintendent's letters." On May 18, 1561, in the process for divorce Alison Calland against James Alexander, "in Sanct

Monangs," the *Petitio Supplicatoria* (as it is called) begins: "My lordis minister and eldares of the Christian congregation of the citie of Sanctand. unto yo^r Ll. (lordships) humilie menis, complenis, and schawis, I yo^r servitrice," &c. — *St Andrews Kirk-Session Records*].

ordained that all ministers, exhorters, and readers not admitted to their charges according to the order appointed in the Book of Discipline, should be inhibited, and that this act should apply to those who are called bishops as well as others.

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In the fourth session, the Assembly gave power to every superintendent within his own bounds in the Synodal Assemblies, with consent of a majority of ministers and elders, to translate ministers from one church to another, as they should consider the necessity, and likewise gave charge to the ministers to obey the superintendents in this matter. Superintendents were also required to call their synodal conventions twice in the year, namely, in April and October, at such days of these months as the superintendents might think good, and sufficient notice was to be given to every church, that the minister with an elder or deacon might repair to the place appointed, to consult upon the common affairs.

In the fifth session, commission was given to the superintendents to consult with the Lords of the Privy Council, and to determine what kind of causes should be judged by the Church, and to endeavour to obtain the abolition of markets kept on the Lord's day in different parts of the kingdom.

It was concluded, that uniform order should be kept in ministration of the sacraments, solennisation of marriages, and burial of the dead, according to the Book of Geneva. And likewise that the communion should be administered four times in the year in burghs, and twice in the year in country parishes. Conference was to be had between the superintendents and the Privy Council, with respect to the expenses of the elements used on that solemn occasion. This was a

Order of
Divine
Service.

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subject which remained undecided in the Church for more than a hundred years, and it shows how slender the provision was that was made for the public charges of religion.^a Superintendents and those to whom they should give commission were required to decide in actions of divorce, and all other ministers were prohibited to interfere in such cases.

Soon after the season of Easter, three or four months after this Assembly, the Archbishop of St Andrews and some other persons were tried before the Court of Justiciary for saying mass; they surrendered themselves to the Queen's will, and were committed to prison for the offence.

General
Assembly
at Perth.
June 1563.

On the 25th of June 1563, a General Assembly met at Perth, or, as it was then commonly named, St Johnston. John Willock, Superintendent of the West, constituted the meeting by invocation of the name of God. The superintendents were tried as usual, and some of them did not very satisfactorily account for their conduct. One of the first cases which came under the notice of this Assembly was that of Paul Methven, minister of Jedburgh, who, having been convicted of adultery, had been removed from the ministry, and excommunicated. He expressed the deepest contrition for the offence which he had committed, and offered to undergo any punishment, however severe. After long reasoning, it was agreed that he should have a comfortable answer, and that the Lords of the Council should be conferred with on that matter. How far this lenity to one of their own order was consistent with the statute which, at their suggestion, had been recently passed by the Parliament, declaring adultery to be punishable with the

^a [See Appendix, No. IX.]

death of both parties, might well bear a question ; but it is not unlikely that the fact could not have been clearly proved unless the accused had confessed it, and that he had given strong marks of penitence from the first.

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At the same session, Calderwood in his MS. History says, that “ Mr John Balfour, usurping the place of a minister of a kirk whereto he was not admitted, was removed, and placed in an obscurer congregation, according to the measure of his gifts.” This case is more fully related in the Book of the Universal Kirk. “ Mr John Rutherford, Principal of St Salvator’s College, complained that Mr John Balfour usurped the ministry at Cults, being unqualified to discharge the same ; and seeing the kirk pertained to him as Principal, he offered himself to minister according to the talent given him by God. The kirk hearing his complaint and offer, ordained the said Mr John to accept the office, who in presence of the Assembly accepted the same.” In this instance it appears that the Church was convinced that one man (though not altogether unfit for the ministry) might be less capable of doing the duties of a parochial charge, which was his sole employment, than another man living at some distance from the spot, and occupying an additional office of no small importance. Balfour was as really a minister as Rutherford was ; but he was not of equal gifts, and when he was ordered to remove to a more obscure congregation, Rutherford was not merely permitted, but ordained^a

Case of Mr John Balfour, Calderwood MS. Hist. Booke of the Universal Kirk, 16. [p. 31, in Ban. ed.]

^a He actually became minister of Cults. In 1570, “ the kirk findis fault y^t Mr John Rutherford, minister at Cultis, hes not done diligence in serving ye said cure, at least certain tymes in ye zeir, admonishing him y^rfoir to amend the said fault in times coming, uther-

ways ye kirk will proceed agains him as a neglecter of his dewtie.”—*Buik of Univ. Kirk*, p. 117. From such complaints few ministers of those times escaped. Rutherford was a man of great learning, but violent temper, whom nobody liked.

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to undertake more charges than one ; and almost as long as he is heard of at all (which is for a space of nearly ten years afterwards), he is known to have occupied both stations.

Booke of
Universal
Kirk, p. 19
[33.] See
also Calder-
wood MS.,
vol. i. p.
812.

In the second session of the Assembly it was ordained—that the instruction of the youth be committed to none within the realm, either in or out of the universities, but to such as profess Christ's true religion now publicly preached, and that whoever occupied such places and still adhered to the errors of Popery, should be removed.

Commissions to endure for a year were given to various ministers to plant churches throughout the country, and this work proceeded with great spirit and activity.

Among other petitions presented by the Church to the authorities of the State, one was, that where two or three churches are distant two or three miles, they may be united, because the rare number of ministers did not suffer every church to have a several minister, and the smallness of the parishes did not require it.

In the third session it was ordered that no work should be set forth in print, or published in writing concerning religion, before it was revised and approved by the superintendent, with the advice of the most learned men in the bounds ; and that if they or any of them doubt in any point, so that they cannot resolve clearly in the same, they shall produce the said work to the General Assembly, where order shall be taken for resolution of the said doubt.^a

^a [Calderwood's MS. History, vol. i. p. 814. The following are illustrations of the application of this rule : —General Assembly, July 1, 1568. "Book intituled the Fall of Antichrist, by Bassenden, discharged, because it expresses the king as supreme head of the kirk." "In the third session, the Assembly ordained Thomas Bassendaene, printer, to call in the books

Superintendents were to warn shires, towns, and parish kirks to send their commissioners to the Assembly in time coming, and the superintendents were to attend the Assembly on the first day, under penalty of forty shillings Scots, to be distributed to the poor.

The seventh General Assembly (or rather the sixth) met at Edinburgh on Christmas day 1563. Many of the nobility were present, but their attendance does not seem to have added to the harmony of the deliberations. Goodman the minister of St Andrews had an angry altercation with Maitland of Lethington, the Secretary, on the subject of the thirds allotted to the maintenance of the ministers. Lethington said to him scornfully, "Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica." Goodman, being an Englishman, felt that

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1563.

printed be him, intituled *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*, wherein the king is called the *Supreme head of the Primitive Kirk*, &c., and to keep the rest unsold till he alter the foresaid title. Item, to delete the bauldie song, *Welcome Fortoun*, &c., printed in the end of the Psalm-book, without licence; and that he abstain in times coming from printing anything without licence of the supreme magistrate, or if it concern religion, of such as shall be appointed be the Assembly to revise. Mr Alexander Arbuthnot was appointed to revise the forenamed tractat, and to report to the Assembly."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 103.

General Assembly, August 1574. Session 9. "Forsamikle as by imprinting and putting to light of works repugnant to the truth of God's word, and containing manifest error, the weak ones of the earth may be heavily prejudged and seduced from the truth, therefore the General Assembly presently convened, all in one voice have given power to their loved brethren, Mr Robert Pont, Provost of

the Trinity College; Mr James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh; Mr David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline; Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith; Mr Clement Little, one of the Commissioners of Edinburgh; John Brand, minister of Halyrudhouse, or any three or four of them conjunctly, to visit and oversee all manner of books or works that shall be proponed to be printed, and to give their judgment thereupon, if the same be allowable and approved by the law of God or not, their judgment and opinion thereof by their subscription and handwritt to witness and testify for relief of such as shall read the said works, which commission of oversight foresaid the General Assembly willeth to endure firm and stable to their next Assembly."

"For reviewing and sighting of the history of Job, compiled by Mr Patrick Adamson in Latin verse, the present Assembly hath willed their loved brethren and the right honourable Mr George Buchanan, keeper of the privy seal; Mr Peter Young, pedagogue to

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this ungenerous rebuke was intended to depress him, and he replied, "Though in your political state I am a stranger, I am not a stranger in the Church, the care of which belongs to me, no less in Scotland than if I were in the heart of England." John Knox was silent during this contention, because he also had been accused of having factiously usurped greater power than became him in calling the brethren together on certain occasions. It was found by the Assembly, that he had received charge and instructions to advertise the brethren to convene when any danger threatened the Church or any of its members. All the superintendents, many ministers, noblemen, and gentlemen, and indeed almost the whole Assembly, declared that they remembered very well that he

our Sovereign Lord; Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Lowson, minister of Edinburgh, to take travell in perusing of the said book, and if the same be found by them agreeable to the truth of God's word, to authorise the same with testimony of their handwritt and subscription."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 464.

It was not, however, only as licensors of books relating to religion that the General Assembly took an interest in the early Scottish press.

General Assembly, March 1569-70. Session 7. "Anent Robert Lekprevik, his supplication for support of the kirk, in his office of printing. The kirk having respect to his povertie, the great expenses that he has made in buying of printing irons, and the great zeal and love he bears to serve the kirk at all times, has assigned to him fifty pounds to be yearly paid of the thirds of the kirk, by the collectors underwritten—viz. the collector of Lothian, to pay hereof 10 lib., the collector of Fife 10 lib., and the collector of Angus 10 lib., whilk sum the

auditors of the comptis for the kirk shall thankfully allow to every ane of them."—*Buik of Universal Kirk*, p. 112.

General Assembly, August 1574, Sess. 6. "It is understood to the General Assembly, by credible report of certain learned men lately arrived within this country, that a French printer of the best renowned this day next Henricus Stephanus, being banished with his wife and family from his country, hath offered unto them to come in Scotland, and to bring with him three thousand franks worth of books, and to print whatsoever work he should be commanded, in so much that there should not be a book printed in French or Almain, but once in the year it should be gotten of him, if he might have sure provision of a yearly pension of 300 merks; which indeed is ane offer so comfortable to the country and kirk, that it ought not to be overseen, that his grace will consider the same offer, and take order therewith."—*Calderwood's MS. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 462. (*Memorial for Bible Societies.*)

would have excused himself from the charge, if the former Assembly would have permitted him to decline it.

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It appears that the superintendents were not only inefficient, but generally dissatisfied with their situations. The superintendent of Lothian complained of the great burden, and begged to be restored to his former cure. The superintendent of the West was also desirous to be disburdened of his charge, which he had undertaken only for a time. A complaint was brought against him, because he had not done his utmost to procure the extirpation of idolatry within his bounds. The superintendent of Fife was complained of, because he did not preach at his visitations, but caused the minister of the church to occupy his room. It was complained against the superintendent of Angus that no discipline was used in many of the churches, and that he did not preach at his visitations.

In the first session it was agreed that a moderator should preside during the time of every Assembly; and John Willock, superintendent of the West, was chosen^a as Moderator of this Assembly.

Moderator
to be chosen
in future
Assemblies.

With reference to their complaint in 1562, the parishioners of Calder represented that "Mr John Spotswood, presented to the parsonage of Calder fifteen years since, had been promoted three years since to be superintendent of Lothian without their knowledge," and that, "by reason of his public office and exercise, he was abstracted from his cure the most part of the year." They

Complaints
against
ministers.

^a ["The Lords of the Secreit Council, with the haill brethren of the Assemblie, appointit Mr John Willock, Superintendent of the west, Moderator during this Assemblie."—*Buik of the Univ. Kirk*, [p. 38.] Another singular instance of civil courts

dealing with matters ecclesiastical is noticed in the register for the previous year. In December 1562, the same Lords of the Privy Council had the nomination of the persons to be elected superintendents remitted to them by the General Assembly.—(*Ib.* p. 30.)

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therefore desired, as before, that he might either be caused to renounce his office of superintendent, and return to his former vocation, or else to demit the parsonage, that another qualified man might be presented,—“in consideration that it is impossible that one man may exercise two offices in the Church, but one of them must be neglected, otherwise we shall differ little from the popish Church, in which one person had plurality of benefices.” This strong representation had no effect on the Assembly. The former answer given the preceding year was deemed sufficient—viz. that the profit of a number of churches must be preferred to the profit of one.

Several ministers, exhorters, and readers from the north, were called upon to answer for their doctrine and manners. Some of them were suspended till farther trial should be taken ; and one was admonished “to follow a decent order and form in doctrine, with becoming gravity, and to follow the text without inveighing otherwise than the text required.”

The brethren of Fife presented a list of complaints against the superintendent. He answered that some of the faults charged against him lay not in his power to amend. “The complainers were commended for their zeal in delating things worthy of redress ; and the superintendent admonished to be diligent in preaching and execution of his office.”

Ministers having manses were required to live in them, and to visit the sick, craving, when necessary, the assistance of the elders and deacons in the visitation. The reason assigned for this law is a very sufficient one. Ministers, exhorters, and readers, were in the habit of dwelling in towns far distant from their churches, and thus the people were left destitute of the continual

comfort which their daily presence should give by mutual conference of the minister with the flock.

The next General Assembly began at Edinburgh on the 25th of June 1564. The exhortation and prayer were delivered by John Knox, and John Willock was continued moderator.

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1564.
General
Assembly,
25th June,
[Booke of
Univ. Kirk,
p. 46.]

A case occurred which proves that the power of superintendents was much more limited than is sometimes pretended. The parish of Largo had not been provided with a regular minister, and the General Assembly were not able to appoint one to labour in that parish exclusively; but it was determined that, till further provision could be made, Mr Robert Montgomerie, minister of Cupar, should supply the Church of Largo every alternate Sunday. The superintendent of Fife, whose duty it was to attend to the execution of this order, was directed to use his influence with the town of Cupar to accede to this arrangement, or to grant license to their minister to labour in the other parish, and to consent, that in his absence, the schoolmaster of Cupar should read and exhort in their church. The minister might have been supposed to be sufficiently authorised by the appointment of the General Assembly, communicated through the superintendent. But the Church thought it necessary, in this instance at least, to obtain the approbation of the flock, who were henceforth for a season to dispense with part of the services of the minister.

Certain articles were ordered by this Assembly to be presented to the Lords of Secret Council. Commissioners were also appointed to reason with the Council on the propriety of adopting the proposed measures. It was thought good that Christ's religion be *de novo* established, ratified, and approved through-

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out the whole realm, and that all idolatry, especially the mass, be abolished, so that no other face of religion be permitted; and for this effect, that the ministers be provided decently with a certain fixed or "assured appointment," in virtue of which they might receive their livings, both past and to come, and not live as beggars as they are said to have done then; and further, that the transgressors against the laws, both in times past and in times coming, might be punished according to the said laws and ordinances. From this request, agreed upon by the Church, it is evident that in many parts of the country the old forms of devotion were still practised, and that the professors of the reformed doctrines were not able to prevail upon the Government to afford even the most parsimonious subsistence to the ministers. It was recommended by some of the Lords of the Council to put these petitions in another form, which they undertook to present to the Queen. They returned to the Assembly and declared that they were empowered in Her Majesty's name to promise the accomplishment of these desires. The whole number present expressed the most lively gratitude for this attention to their reasonable desires, and promised to do their utmost to maintain among the subjects the duties of allegiance and obedience. To do justice to the Queen, it must be owned, that though she had little inclination to gratify the reformed preachers, it was chiefly the fault of the nobility and gentry that the rights of the Church were so long withheld.

George
Buchanan.

In the fourth Session of this Assembly, the name of George Buchanan^a appears for the first time as a constituent member of a Church Court. He had been

^a Appendix, No. X.

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long a favourer of the Reformation, and a friend of liberty ; and though the discussions of popular Assemblies might not be altogether congenial to his habits, he entered with great keenness into all those measures which promised to secure to the people the blessings of good government, and pure religion, and sound learning.

In this Assembly, Buchanan was one of five learned men, to whose judgment a cause was remitted, affecting equally the interests of piety and learning. They were desired to consider whether it were more expedient that Mr Andrew Simson should remain minister at Dunning and Cargill, or be removed to Dunbar, according to a promise which he had made. "It was decerned by them that he should be removed." The circumstances of this case deserve to be related more particularly, as they afford us an opportunity of estimating the diligence and zeal of the ministers, at the time when their numbers were so inconsiderable.

Andrew
Simson.

Andrew Simson had been master of the Grammar School of Perth,^a before the Reformation, and was a

^a [The town council held the patronage of this school ; but, after the reformation, the ministers of Perth claimed the right of being consulted in the nomination of the schoolmaster, of taking him upon trial, and formally admitting him to his office. A remarkable case, in which, as "the ministry and town could not accord who should be the man," the latter attempted to admit a teacher without the consent of the ministers, is frequently referred to in the Perth registers for 1631 and 1632. In November 1631, the ministers of Perth represented to the Presbytery "their griefs against the burgh, who would abridge them of their liberty anent the chusing of a schoolmaster," com-

plaining that the burgh "intend as patrons, to place a schoolmaster without their consent, or trial in conversation, literature, and profession, whereby great prejudice might come to the seminary and to religion." A committee was appointed by the Presbytery to concur with the ministers of Perth, and to reason with the council of the said burgh ; but, after the delay of six months, during which the school was taught by Patrick Rhynd, minister of a neighbouring parish, and the son of William Rhynd, Simson's successor, we find (May 23, 1632) it is complained in the Presbytery by the ministers of Perth, that the magistrates had "nominated a schoolmaster without acknowledging

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zealous supporter of the Popish cause. The number of his scholars exceeded 300 ; and by some accident they had got into their possession Sir David Lindsay's "Satyre of the three Estatis." Upon one occasion when a friar, preaching in the church of Perth, began to inveigh bitterly against the Protestant teachers, the schoolboys, struck with the resemblance between his manner and some of Lindsay's descriptions, and not a little indignant at the abusive words which he uttered, set up such a clamour and hissing, that he ran out of the church in a great rage, and complained to the magistrates of the interruption. Before the next Sunday, the master being employed in investigating the cause of the tumult, discovered the book which had instilled into his pupils those sentiments which they had not refrained from expressing. When he was about to punish the delinquent in whose possession the book was found, the boy, who had previously been a great favourite of his, entreated him to read the book himself, and if he found it to contain heresy or falsehood, said he was willing to be corrected with the utmost severity. Simson read the book, and was led by it into a train of thought which terminated in his conversion. On the establishment of the Reformation

them or seeking their consent, contrary to the custom of this burgh, and Acts of the General Assembly and Parliament, committing the trial of such men, their religion and qualification, to the Church." The dispute was finally compromised :—Aug. 15, 1632. "The ministers of Perth report, that on Monday last Mr John Row, master of the grammar-school of Perth, acknowledged his oversight in entering to the said school without being tried by them, and in presence of the Bishop of Dunkeld, and divers

others of the Council of the said burgh, offered himself to trial if it were their pleasure ; and that with this offer they rested contented, and thereupon went immediately to the grammar-school, accompanied with the Bishop as moderator, and divers of the Council ; and after admonishing Mr John of his duty, and diligent instructing of the bairns in literature and manners, and mutually the bairns' duty towards him as their master, did accept him by the hand, and authorised him."—*Records of Presbytery of Perth.*

he was appointed minister of two parishes, Dunning and Cargill, the one about nine miles north of Perth, and the other about the same distance south, or south-west. He also continued, it is said, to have the charge of that numerous school, which he had hitherto superintended with the greatest ability. Four or five years afterwards, as we find from the record of this Assembly, he was ordained to be translated to Dunbar, a parish of very great extent, and more populous than both the other two. Even in its present state, though far reduced below its former population, it is understood to be a most laborious ministerial charge. Here, also, he was not only the minister, but the master of the grammar school ; and he was as distinguished for his eminence in the one capacity as in the other. He was, I believe, the most diligent and able classical teacher in Scotland at that time. The Introduction to Latin Grammar which he published, after he had been twenty years minister and schoolmaster of Dunbar (known by the name of Dunbar Rudiments), continued to be taught in almost all our schools for 150 years ; and there are still persons alive who can remember the time when it was superseded by the Rudiments compiled by the learned Thomas Ruddiman. This example shows at the same time how exceedingly laborious the Protestant teachers were, and how anxious they were to combine with the doctrines of religion the study of ancient learning.

In this Assembly a question was moved, whether a minister, after being lawfully placed at a church, may leave his ministry at the said church, and pass to another at his own pleasure. It is probable that this query was suggested by the case of Andrew Simson, who had given a promise to remove to Dunbar, before

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Translation
of Ministers.

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he received authority from the Church. It was concluded by the whole Assembly that a minister may in no ways leave his congregation, being once placed, without knowledge of the flock, his superintendent, or the whole Church ; and that it shall be considered by the whole Church, whether it be a lawful cause or not.

Mr Patrick Constan (or Adamson), afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, was at this time minister of Ceres. He desired leave from the Assembly to pass to France and other countries for augmenting his knowledge for a time. The Assembly in one voice dissented, and ordained that he should not pass out of this country, nor yet leave his congregation, without special license of the whole Church, if they shall hereafter think it expedient or necessary.

General
Assembly,
Dec. 25.

The next General Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 25th of December 1564. The exhortation was made by John Knox, minister of Edinburgh ; and John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and Mearns, was appointed Moderator. The nomination of a moderator is declared to be for avoiding confusion, and that every brother should speak in his own *room* (place or turn) with modesty.

Order of
business in
the Assembly.

The business of the Assembly now began to assume a more regular form than hitherto. Any brother who had a question to propose, must wait till the affairs of the Church were first treated, and then must present it in writing. If it required to be immediately resolved, it might be decided before the conclusion of the Assembly ; but otherwise it ought to be referred to the superintendents, who, with a certain number of ministers, were to hear the question reasoned, and to report the reasons, on both sides, to the next General

Assembly. This method, if duly observed, was thought sufficient to prevent a hasty decision.

Seven articles were presented to the Queen, through the medium of the Privy Council. They show that the promises made the preceding year were still as far as ever from being fulfilled. The tenor of them was as follows:—1. That remedy should be provided against the hearing and saying of mass, and the abuse of the sacraments, crimes now so common, that, it was to be feared, judgments must suddenly follow except remedy were provided in time. 2. To require payment to ministers of their stipends for the time past, according to the promise made, and to let the Assembly know how the ministers shall be sustained in time to come. 3. To require superintendents to be placed, where none are within this realm—viz. in the Merse, Teviotdale, Forest, and Tweeddale, and the rest of the dales in the south not provided; with Aberdeen, and other places in the north, likewise destitute. 4. To require punishment of such as “hes steikit the doores of the paroch kirks, and will not oppin the same in to preachers that presentit themselves to have preachit the word,” as in Paisley, Aberdeen, and other places. 5. To require humbly of the Queen what the Church must look for with respect to benefices vacant and to become vacant. 6. To require for the ministers the possession of the manses and glebes, whether let in feu or not. 7. To require execution of the Acts concerning separation of kirks.

It was complained that many ignorant men, and men of bad life, were admitted ministers, exhorters, and readers. It was, therefore, ordained that Commissioners should visit the different districts, and after trying the ministers and others, that they might suspend

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presented to
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sioners to
visit the
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them for a time, or depose them for any crime, or ignorance, or inability. Such of the superintendents as were appointed to this service were required to go to a different province from their own. Thus the superintendent of Angus was nominated to visit the churches in the south-west of Scotland, the superintendent of Lothian was sent to Angus, the superintendent of the west to Lothian, and Mr Knox to Fife, Strathearn, Gowrie, and Monteith.

In this session every minister, exhorter, and reader, was ordered to have one of the psalm-books lately printed at Edinburgh, and to use the order contained in it, in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the sacraments. This is the book commonly called Knox's Liturgy, or the Book of Common Order.

Paul
Methven.

In the third session, a petition was read from Paul Methven, late minister of Jedburgh, deposed and excommunicated for adultery. The Assembly were willing to receive him to repentance; but they strongly disapproved of his desire to erase the process out of their books, which desire, they said, could not proceed of the Holy Spirit, seeing David, a notable servant of God, was not ashamed to record his own offence to God's glory and his own confusion. With regard to his re-admission to the ministry in Scotland, they thought that this could not be suffered till the memory of his impiety be more deeply buried, and till some notable churches within the realm should make earnest request for his restoration. They also expressed disapprobation of him for having officiated as a minister in England, while excommunicated and unreconciled; and they were much offended with his accusation of the witnesses as having sworn falsely, though they had testified nothing but what he had

confessed, both verbally and in writing. In conclusion, they signified to him that he might safely return to Scotland, notwithstanding the law lately proclaimed against adulterers. Their motive for giving him this assurance I am not able to discover.

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It was ordained in this Assembly that no minister should admit to public repentance persons relapsed the third time in fornication, drunkenness, or the like crimes, but that they should be sent to the superintendent, who might enjoin such proofs of penitence as must make the offence more abhorred, but chiefly that they cause the offender satisfy the kirk more days than one, as the superintendent may think good.

On the 25th of June 1565, the Assembly met again at Edinburgh. It met at this time regularly at intervals of six months exactly, the 25th of June and the 25th of December. Willock, superintendent of the West, was moderator.

General
Assembly,
25th June
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It was ordained that if any superintendent had any thing to lay to the charge of ministers, exhorters, or readers, he must present it in writing, and those who had accusations to present against the superintendent were to be bound by the same rule.

Some ministers were accused of refusing to attend the weekly exercise, and to repair to the synodal and general Assemblies. Many complaints were sent from Fife. The superintendent complained that the kirk of Kilmany, pertaining as a common kirk to St Salvator College, was destitute of a preacher. The provost of the College, John Rutherford, and William Ramsay, one of the masters, were content to abide by the decision of the superintendents of Angus and Fife, Goodman, the minister of St Andrews, and Mr George Buchanan, who about this time, or soon

Complaint
of the want
of ministers,
and infre-
quency of
the admin-
istration of
ordinances.

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Bulch of
Univ. Kirk
[p. 160].

afterwards, became principal of St Leonard's College. The result of their deliberation was, that in respect of the number of learned and qualified men within the college able to preach, and the nearness of the church of Kilmany, some of these men should, till further order was taken, be appointed to supply the church, both by preaching the word, and administering the sacraments. (At that time the members of the college were all invested with the character of ministers, being authorised not only to preach, but to dispense all the other ordinances of religion.) The parishioners of Tyninghame, who then paid their tithes (as they do still) to the New College of St Andrews, complained that they had no preaching nor ministration of the sacraments. John Douglas, rector of the University and principal of the College, promised to satisfy the complainers, so that the church should not be troubled with a repetition of the complaint. The parishioners of Kilconquhar complained against Mr Alexander Spens, minister, for not ministering the communion these six years past. The superintendent of Fife and the minister of St Andrews were appointed to see that the communion should be administered before Candlemas. Mr Alexander Spens had been a regent in the Old College at the time of the reformation, when he was recommended to the church as being qualified to preach and minister the sacraments. He is understood to have retired from his appointment when he undertook the charge of the parish of Kilconquhar; but he does not seem to have been quite so attentive to his pastoral duties as some other men, who, in addition to the labours of parochial clergymen, were burdened with other cares of no inconsiderable magnitude.

Great zeal was displayed in this Assembly against immorality. The judges were earnestly solicited to put in execution the laws against profaneness and other aggravated offences.

Supplications were also prepared to be presented to the Queen, to the following purpose, — first, That the mass should be universally abolished, and the sacred Word of God established and ratified throughout the whole kingdom. Second, That some provision be made for sustentation of the ministers in time present and to come ; that vacant benefices be disposed of to qualified persons ; that no bishopric, priory, deanery, abbacy, provostry, or any other benefice having many kirks annexed to it, be in future disposed altogether to one man, but that the kirks shall be disposed to different men, that every one may serve at his own kirk according to his vocation ; that the glebes and manses be given to the ministers, so that they may reside ; and that, for the same purpose, the churches be duly repaired. Third, That none be permitted to have charge of schools, colleges, or universities, or instruct youth either privately or publicly, but such as shall be tried by the superintendents or visitors of the Church, found sound and able in doctrine, and admitted by them to their charges.^a

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Supplications to the Queen in behalf of the Church.

^a [*Book of Universal Kirk*, [p. 60.] Archbishops, and few of the teachers Keith (p. 542) has the same words. had renounced the creed of the Church of Rome. A commission was sent to Aberdeen, by the Regent Murray, with concurrence of the General Assembly, and found all the members of King's College unfit to be retained. On the 3d of July 1569, a presentation by the King was granted to Mr Alexander Arbuthnot, to be principal, directed to the Superintendent of Aberdeen, requiring him to try and examine the said Mr Alex-

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Fourth, For support of the poor, that all lands “founded of old to hospitality” be restored to the same use, and that the lands and rents of the orders of friars should be applied to the upholding of schools and the relief of the poor. Fifth, That the crimes abounding in the realm, might be severely punished, and judges appointed for that end in every province. Lastly, That some order be established for the ease of the poor labourers of the ground, concerning the unreasonable payment of their tithes. All these articles bespeak an earnest desire to promote the best interests of the community ; but so far as it depended on the concurrence of the State, the objects contemplated by the Church were as little regarded as ever.

Commissioners were appointed to try the qualifications of John Lynd, minister of Irvine, who reported that he was insufficient for the charge in that place. It was quite common at that time to remove ministers from a more important to a less important station, when they were discovered to be not so able as had been expected.

Six members, two of whom were George Buchanan and Robert Pont, were required to meet (“from six to

ander, and he, being found able for the said place and charge, to receive and admit him. In the same manner Mr James Lawson’s presentation to the office of sub-principal (which did not involve a theological professorship) was directed to the superintendent, who was to try his qualifications sufficiently before admitting him. Subsequently to this period the General Assembly from time to time appointed visitations of universities, the records of which have not been preserved, with the exception of a few years following 1638.

Acts in conformity with the prin-

ciple embodied in the “supplication” to the Queen were passed by the Assemblies of June 1563 (see *supra*), June 25, 1567 (Spotswood, p. 210), and September 1595. All these acts were renewed and ordered to be put in execution by the General Assembly, 17th and 18th December 1638, requiring principals and professors within colleges, and masters of schools, to be tried by commission from the Assembly, concerning the soundness of their judgment in matters of religion, their ability for the discharge of their calling, and the honesty of their conversation.]

eight in the morning") to decide questions proposed, or to be proposed, and to report their decision to the Assembly, that it might be inserted in the register. The questions submitted to the consideration of the six commissioners, were three in number. The first was, whether children may contract marriage without consent of their parents. It was decided that they ought not, unless, after the refusal of their parents, they obtained the approbation of the Church. The second was, whether, if a learned man having a benefice given in time of popery, or lately since the word has been preached in this realm, may leave that parish destitute of preaching, and "enter minister to serve in another place for a larger stipend?" It was concluded that no faithful minister may enjoy a benefice or living pertaining to the kirk, except he remain at the kirk to discharge his office for which he received the benefice; and that if he be transported to any other place, whereby he may not discharge his duty in both, that he be deprived of the one, which is to be bestowed on another, providing always the foresaid person be sufficiently assured of his stipend. The other question related to the degrees of consanguinity within which, in certain circumstances, marriage might be contracted.^a All these questions appear to have been suggested by particular cases which came at that time under the cognisance of the Assembly. It is evident that the Assembly considered the persons to whom these questions were referred as the best qualified to discuss intricate cases involving points of law. Some of the number had formerly been lawyers, and others continued to be employed as judges. Of the last description were Adam, Bishop of Orkney, and Robert Pont; of

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^a Appendix, No. XI.

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the former John Row, and, I believe, John Craig. The others were Douglas, rector of this University, George Buchanan, principal of St Leonards and Christopher Goodman, minister of this city.

At this period the Assembly seems generally to have sat four, five, or six days.

I take notice of all these circumstances, without attempting to arrange them in any other order except that of the time in which they happened ; because it is not easy to reduce such multifarious and varied particulars into a methodical form. Most of the discussions arose out of incidental circumstances, many of which are very imperfectly known ; but as we advance, we shall be able to draw information from a greater number of collateral aids.

LECTURE XI.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECEMBER 1565 — INEFFICIENCY OF SUPERINTENDENTS—THE QUEEN'S ANSWERS TO THE ARTICLES PRESENTED BY THE LAST ASSEMBLY—KNOX AND ROW RECEIVE TEMPORARY POWERS AS SUPERINTENDENTS — DECISIONS OF A COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS — ASSEMBLIES JUNE AND DECEMBER 1566 — PAUL METHVEN'S REPENTANCE—JOHN CRAIG—THIRDS OF BENEFICES ASSIGNED FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE MINISTRY—ASSEMBLY'S LETTER TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN FAVOUR OF THE PURITANS—LATTER CONFESSION OF HELVETIA—GEORGE BUCHANAN.

WE have seen in the records of the earliest General Assemblies sufficient proof of the zeal of the ministers in endeavouring to obtain from the State complete security against the recurrence of popery, and to establish among the people of whom they had the charge, the liberal and scriptural views of doctrine and of duty which they conceived to be essential to the progress of the truth. They laboured also with much earnestness, but with little success, to procure the necessary means of defraying the expenses attending the public services of religion. They were not less anxious to insure the respectability and integrity of their own order, by censuring every irregularity and deficiency, and by requiring strict trial to be taken of their conduct at every General Assembly as well as at the provincial synods. The Assembly which met on the 25th of December 1565, of which Erskine of Dun

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was moderator, followed in the footsteps of its predecessors, in its efforts to extend the influence of the reformed principles.

The superintendents of Lothian and Fife were again charged with slackness in visitation. They excused themselves on account of the absence of the people following the Queen according to the proclamation. The proclamation here mentioned is probably that of the 22d of July, in which the Queen, with advice of the privy council, ordained letters to be directed to the sheriffs charging them to pass to the burghs of Edinburgh, Haddington, Dunse, Lauder, Peebles, Lanark, Linlithgow, Stirling, Clackmannan, Culross, Cupar, Dunbarton, and Renfrew (almost all which places were in the bounds of the superintendents of Lothian and Fife), commanding Her Majesty's subjects to attend her person with all possible haste, every one being well armed, and supplied with provision for fifteen days. Various other proclamations were issued to the same effect, the purpose of them being to oppose the insurgents under the Earl of Murray, who about this time was denounced rebel. The particulars of this rising are related at sufficient length by Keith, Robertson, and other historians, from whose narratives it appears that great numbers resorted to the royal standard, so that the disaffected lords with their followers were compelled to take refuge in England.

[Keith, Hist. 299, &c.
Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, p. 323.]

Inefficiency
of the
Superin-
tendents.

The superintendent of Angus, being moderator of the Assembly, confessed that he had not visited any church for two months; but he alleged that his visitation could not serve much purpose, in respect it behoved him on such occasions to lodge with his friends, who had most need of correction and discipline. He, therefore, besought the Assembly to provide some

other to that office. It appears from this and from other instances, that the service done by superintendents was much less considerable than had been anticipated, and that most of them were sensible of their own inefficiency. It appears also that several ministers, exhorters, and readers did not render due respect and obedience to their superintendents, and that the authority of the General Assembly was scarcely sufficient to secure that subordination and regularity which was conceived to be so indispensable to the welfare of the Church.

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The articles which had been presented by the commissioners of the last Assembly to the Queen had been very ill received, and when her answers were taken into consideration, John Row, minister of Perth, was appointed to reply to them in writing. The object of the first part of Row's paper adopted by the Church is to prove the impiety of the mass, and other superstitions for which her Majesty professed the same reverence as ever. The second part of it insists, that, though the Queen's right of patronage was not disputed, the collation of benefices ought to belong to the Church, and ought to be preceded by the examination of learned men, and that the retention of benefices in the Queen's hands, "undisposed" to qualified persons, must be considered as contrary to all public order, and to the essential interests of religion. The Queen had proposed to retain part of the benefices entirely in her own hands for the supply of her necessities, and she offered to assign a certain proportion of them for the support of the ministers. But the Church, though they expressed a desire to see her necessities relieved, maintained that the teinds were properly to be reputed the patrimony of the Church, upon which,

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answers to
the articles
presented by
the last
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before other claims were considered, the ministers ought to be provided with a sufficient subsistence, the churches ought to be repaired, the youth educated, and the indigent supported. They thanked her Majesty for her liberal offer of assignation to be made to the ministers, though they could not help remarking that the offer was so generally conceived that unless particulars were specially condescended upon, no execution could follow. They entreated that the stipends of former years might be paid, and that they might be allowed to know by what means they were to be sustained in time to come, and also that they might be protected from the molestation and personal violence to which some of the ministers were exposed on account of their fidelity in reproving vice.

Superin-
tendents.

John Knox was appointed to write a comfortable letter, in name of the Assembly, to encourage ministers, exhorters, and readers, to continue steadfast in their vocation, from which there was some danger of their retiring, in consequence of the non-payment of their stipends, and to exhort the faithful professors of religion in the land to supply their necessities. Knox was likewise appointed "to visit, preach, and plant kirks in the south, where there was not a superintendent, and to remain so long as occasion might suffer." (At the same time Row received commission "to visit kirks, schools, and colleges in Ayrshire, to remove or suspend ministers, exhorters, and readers, as they shall be found offensive or unable,—the superintendents of Fife and Angus to supply his place in his absence alternately." From these examples of Knox and Row being invested with temporary powers as superintendents, it is evident that the Church did not consider the office as of permanent necessity). Knox is also named in con-

nection with a case which afterwards gave rise to protracted discussions on the subject of the union of offices in the Church. The commissioners of St Andrews,—*i.e.* the members of the Assembly for the city or parish—requested that Knox might be translated from Edinburgh to St Andrews; but the petition was refused, and they were desired “to choose a minister out of their own University in place of Christopher Goodman, lately departed into England.” The parish, in compliance with this direction, elected Robert Hamilton, at this time one of the professors of divinity in the New College, who, notwithstanding a decision of the Assembly in 1576, that, in the circumstances, “the two offices joined in his person were incompatible in him,” and directions to confine himself to his ministerial charge, continued both a minister and a professor till the year 1580. (He died early in 1581).

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Calderwood
MS., vol. ii.
pp. 4 and
564.
Buik of
Univ. Kirk,
pp. 140-161.
[Records of
Kirk-Ses-
sion, and
University
papers, St
Andrews.]

Nine brethren were appointed by this Assembly to convene for the purpose of deciding questions which, with their answers, were to be reported at a following meeting. Three of those members were lawyers, and five (or six) ministers. Some of the questions proposed were of considerable importance, and, though it is not expressly stated, there is reason to conclude that the decisions of the committee were in every instance confirmed by the Assembly. It may almost be considered as appearing from the terms of their appointment, that their decision was intended to be final.

Committee
on public
questions.

The first question was as follows. It is asked,—“If it be lawful that a minister, what title or honour that ever he bear, receiving sufficient benefit and provision of his flock, may leave them, and make his common residence in other places, so that his flock is destitute

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as well of his doctrine and ministry as of other comfort that the flock should receive of a faithful pastor, notwithstanding that worldly reasons may seem to excuse the absence of some?" The answer was—"No minister of the evangel (gospel) of Jesus Christ, nor no person receiving sufficient living for the preaching of the evangel, may, with safe conscience, leave his vocation, together with his flock and the place appointed for his ordinary residence, what permission and oversight that ever he has, by corruption of times, or negligence of rulers, so do to."

Another question was—"If such as have entered the ministry, being appointed by the superintendent, and received of the people, may leave their vocation and follow the world, because they cannot have a sufficient stipend?" It was answered—"Seeing that our Master pronounces that he is but a mercenary shepherd who, seeing the wolf coming, fleeth for his own safeguard, and that the very danger of life cannot be a sufficient excuse for such as fall back from Jesus Christ: we on no ways think it lawful that such as once put their hand to the plough shall leave that heavenly vocation, and return to the profane world, for indigence or poverty. Lawfully they may leave an unthankful people, and seek where the holy gospel of Jesus Christ may bring forth greater fruit; but lawfully they may never change their vocation."^a

To a third question,—“If baptism, administered by a popish priest, shall be reiterate?”—it was answered,

^a [*Buk. of Univ. Kirk*, pp. 46, 47. See also *Ib.*, p. 114, July 6, 1570:—“Ministers at their public inauguration, sal protest solemnly that they sal never leave yair vocation any time thereafter, under the pain of in

famie and perjurie.” This obligation may be understood still to subsist in all its force, although the protestation be not required at the admission of a minister.]

“When such children come to years of understanding, they should be instructed in the doctrine of salvation. The corruption of the papistry must be declared to them, which they must publicly condemn before they be admitted to the Lord’s table, which if they do, there needs not the external sign to be reiterate. For no papists minister baptism without water, and some form of word, which are the principals of the external sign. We ourselves were baptised by papists, whose corruptions and abuses now we condemn, cleaving only to the simple ordinance of Jesus Christ, and to the virtue of the Holy Spirit, which makes baptism to work in us its proper effects, without any reiteration of the external sign. If such children come never to the knowledge of the true doctrine, they are to be left to the judgment of God.”

LECT.
XI.

1566.

Some of the other questions related to the exercise of discipline.

In the following General Assembly, which met on the 25th of June 1566, Erskine of Dun was again moderator.

General
Assembly,
25th June.

In the trial of superintendents, Wynram, Superintendent of Fife, confessed his own inability to discharge the office, and desired the Assembly to denude him of it. His request was not granted.

Five members were appointed to receive and decide questions, and to report their decision to the Assembly. These five were James Douglas, principal of the New College, St Andrews ; Robert Hamilton, a minister in the New College ; George Buchanan, principal of St Leonard’s College ; Robert Pont, formerly of St Andrews, but now a minister ; and George Hay, minister of Ruthven. None of the questions proposed was of much interest.

LECT.
XI.1566.
Paul Meth-
ven's re-
pentance.
[Booke of
Univ. Kirk,
p. 79.]

This Assembly ordained the form in which Paul Methven, formerly minister of Jedburgh, should be received to repentance. The process was altogether very humiliating, and it shows that the traces of popish opinion and practice were not altogether worn out among the reformed. In appearing before the Assembly, he was required to prostrate himself before the whole brethren, with weeping and howling; and when commanded to rise, he was not allowed to express farther his request, that he might appear overcome with anguish of heart. He was afterwards ordered to appear at the church-door, in Edinburgh, on two preaching-days, clad in sackcloth, bareheaded and barefooted, and there remain till he be brought in to the sermon, and placed in the public spectacle above the people, in time of every sermon during these two days; on the next Sunday, he was to appear in like manner, and in the end of the sermon to declare signs of his inward repentance to the people, humbly requiring the kirk's forgiveness; which done, he was to be clothed in his own apparel, and received into the society of the Church; and the same order was to be observed by him in Dundee and Jedburgh, he being always secluded from any function in the ministry, and from participating of the table of the Lord, till the 25th of December next, when the General Assembly of the Church was to convene, to which he was required to resort, bringing with him sufficient testimony of his conversation and behaviour.

John Craig. John Craig, minister of Edinburgh, desired that John Cairns, who had read prayers and exhorted four years and more in Edinburgh, and had well profited, so that he was now able to be admitted to the ministry,

might be joined with him as colleague in the Church of Edinburgh.^a The Assembly ordered the Church of Edinburgh, with the assistance of the superintendent of Lothian, to consider whether he were sufficient for that place, or for some other. John Craig, who made this request, was a very remarkable man. He had been a Dominican friar at Bologna ; and by reading Calvin's *Institutions*, and conversation with an aged inmate of the monastery, he was led to the knowledge of the truth. In spite of all the cautions which he received, he would not conceal the sentiments which he had espoused ; and being sent to Rome as a suspected heretic, he was condemned to the flames, after suffering nine months' imprisonment. On the night of his condemnation, Paul IV. died, and in a tumultuous rising of the populace, all the prisoners in the city were liberated. Craig journeyed homeward with all possible despatch, and joined himself to the association of reformers in his native country.

LECT.
XI.

1566.

Soon after this meeting of the General Assembly, a message was received by several of the ministers from the churches of Geneva, Berne, and Basil, with other reformed churches of Germany and France, transmitting a copy of their Confessions of Faith (or at least a summary of them), and desiring to know if the Church of Scotland agreed with them in doctrine. The superintendents, and many others of the most qualified ministers, met at St Andrews, and, after deliberating on the documents laid before them, signified their agreement in all the articles professed by these churches, without any other difference except

^a Appendix, No. VII.

LECT.
XI.

1566.

Thirds of
Benefices
assigned to
the minis-
ters.
[Keith,
560.]

that in keeping of some festival days our church did not assent with them, having never kept any day as holy except the Sabbath.

An Act of the Privy Council was passed on the 3d of October 1566, ordaining that in time coming all small benefices, parsonages, vicarages, and others, extending in yearly rental to 300 merks, or within that sum, should always be disposed to such persons as the superintendents and Assembly of the Church, after due examination, should find qualified, and thereafter nominate to their Majesties; and that when bishopricks, abbacies, priories, or other prelacies having the patronage of small benefices, should become vacant, the King and Queen should retain in their hands the small benefices, and demand the consent of the persons to whom the prelacies and great benefices were granted. Five of the popish bishops sat as members of the Council when this Act was passed. In pursuance of this statute, the Queen, in the month of December, at the time of the baptism of her son (afterwards James VI.), subscribed a writing, assigning the thirds of benefices to the maintenance of the ministers. The provision allotted to them extended to 10,000 pounds money, and 400 chalders (or 6400) bolls of grain,—a very moderate allowance for the whole of this National Church, as must be admitted by those who consider that the revenue of the Augustinian Priory of St Andrews alone included a much larger quantity of grain, and nearly a fourth of the money which was thought sufficient for the numerous body of the Protestant ministers, exhorters, and readers. The Lords of the Privy Council gave their formal consent to the Royal grant, on the day after it was issued, and, from this time at least, the ministers

were entitled to plead a legal title to the specific allotments made to them, such as they were.

LECT.
XI.

On the 25th of December 1566, the General Assembly met again, and John Erskine of Dun was continued moderator. One of the first matters taken into consideration was the assignation offered by the Queen and Council for the support of the ministers.

1566.
General
Assembly,
25th Dec.
[Booke of
Univ. Kirk,
p. 82.
Keith, 563.]

After long reasoning and mutual conference among those ministers who were "in the session," (or who were members of the College of Justice, as I understand this expression), it was thought good to accept the offer of money and victuals, "if it might be gotten hastilie;" but at the same time, finding that the persons who hear the word of salvation at the mouth of their ministers, are bound to communicate to their temporal sustenance, the Assembly conceived it to be more consistent with their duty to accept from their flock the most scanty supply which they could afford, than to take from others against their will; and they protested that their acceptance of the assignation for the relief of the brethren, should not pre-judge the liberty of the Church to apply, in time and place convenient, for what belongs to it as its just patrimony. Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, one of Senators of the College of Justice, the Superintendent of Lothian, and two other members, were commissioned to repair to Stirling to obtain an extract of the assignation, that letters might be raised upon it, and to report their answer to the commissioners to be appointed for division of the assignation. The commissioners were chosen, and appointed to convene at Edinburgh, to divide the assignation according to their discretion, among ministers, exhorters, and readers.

On the same day, the three following questions were

LECT. XI. proposed to the Assembly, and answers returned to them :—

1566.

1. Whether the teinds properly pertain to the Church, and should only be applied to the ministers, the schools, the poor, and the support of kirks and other pious uses? It was answered in the affirmative, without contradiction.

2. Whether the ministers, the mouth of the Church, may with safe conscience keep silence when they see the patrimony of the Church most unjustly taken up, and wasted in vain things by such persons as bear no office in the Church, and in the mean time the ministers ceasing for necessity, the poor perishing for hunger, schools decaying, and churches falling to the ground? It was answered they ought not to keep silence, but earnestly to admonish every man of his duty, and to make suit for that which pertains justly to the foresaid purposes.

3. Whether the Church may justly require of all possessors the teinds to be paid only to it, and inhibit all others to receive them; and, in case of disobedience, what order should be used against them? It was answered, after due admonition, and no obedience found, to use the censures of the Church.

Letter to the
Church of
England in
favour of the
Puritans.

At this Assembly a commendatory letter was sent to the Universities of England, in favour of John Knox, when he went to visit his sons pursuing their education in that country, and another letter to the bishops and pastors of England, in favour of those dissenters (known by the name of Puritans) who were prevented from preaching because they refused to wear the surplices, caps, and other vestments which they accounted badges of superstition and idolatry.

In their zeal against the use of what they called Romish rags, our reformers expressed themselves with much greater gentleness and moderation than many of our modern writers would conceive to be consistent with their characters. Those who subscribed the letter had all (except one or two, I think) been priests or monks in the time of popery; and it is but doing them justice to believe that they did not speak at random when they declared their conviction that the apparel retained in the English church was not only unprofitable and offensive to weak consciences, but apt to lead them into a snare.^a

The Assembly presented a supplication to the heads of the privy council, in opposition to the commission of jurisdiction granted to Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, entreating the council to put a stop to it, in respect that the causes, for the most part, judged by his usurped authority, belong to the true Church. This document^β is expressed in terms much less temperate than those of the letter to the Church of England concerning the vestments, and bears a great resemblance to the vehement letter which Knox wrote

LECT.
XI.

1566.

Commission
of jurisdic-
tion to
Archbishop
Hamilton,
protested
against by
the Assem-
bly.

^a Mr William Ramsay, one of the Masters of St Salvator's College, and minister of Kembach, wrote an answer to the book of Henry Bullinger, a Swiss divine, concerning the vestments of the clergy of the Church of England, and the General Assembly appointed eight of their most learned members (two of whom had been popish bishops) to reconsider and revise this controversial tract, of which I am sorry to say that no trace now remains.

^β [It represents that the Church stands in extreme danger, not only to lose their temporal possessions, but

also to be "deprived of the glorious evangel of Jesus Christ, and posterity left in damnable darkness," and particularly that, "that conjurit enemy of Jesus Christ, maist falsely stylit Archbishop of St Andrews, is reponit and restorit by signature past to his former tyranny, for not only are the ancient jurisdictions of the hail Bishopric of St Andrews granted to him, but also the execution of judgments, confirmation of testaments, and donation of benefices, as mair ample in his signature is expressed," &c.—See *Buik of the Universal Kirk*, 27th Dec.]

LECT. XI.

 1566. upon the same occasion. The apprehensions of the Church were by no means groundless. The power granted to the archbishop was altogether inconsistent with the laws in favour of the reformed religion, and endangered the very existence of the new ecclesiastical constitution.

Latter Con-
 fession of
 Helvetia.
 [Calder-
 wood's MS.
 Hist.
 Keith, 568.]

The Assembly after deliberating on the Confession of the Church of Zurich, translated by Robert Pont, ordained it to be printed, with an epistle sent by the Assembly approving it, providing a note be put in the margin, where mention is made of some holy days. This is the Confession known by the title of the latter Confession of Helvetia. It declares superiority of ministers to be a human appointment, and confirmation to be a device of men, which the Church may want without any disadvantage. It disapproved prolix public prayers hindering the preaching of the word, canonical hours, or prayers to be repeated at set times, heaping up ceremonies to the prejudice of Christian liberty; and the observation of days dedicated to the saints. But it retained the festivals commemorative of the more remarkable events in our Saviour's history,—his nativity, circumcision, passion, resurrection, ascension, and the effusion of his Spirit on the disciples on the day of Pentecost. These, as well as the saints' days, were objected to by the Scottish Church, which was so far from observing any of them (says Calderwood), that it oftentimes held its Assemblies on the day kept by many churches in remembrance of Christ's nativity.

Superin-
 tendents.

The superintendent of Angus wished earnestly to be excused from his charge, in consideration of his bodily debility. The Assembly, however, would not

altogether disburden him, but permitted him to appoint some of the best qualified within his bounds to visit when he found himself unable.

LECT.

XI.

1567.

After the Assembly, according to Knox's *History*, [Knox's Hist., 401.] the Bishop of Galloway, with the superintendent of Lothian, and John Row, having passed to Stirling on the subject of the assignation, not only obtained the fulfilment of their demands from the Queen, but they also procured for every borough a grant of "the altar-ages, annualls, and obits formerly given to the papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the ministers and schools within the boroughs, and the rest to the poor or hospital."

The next General Assembly met on the 25th of June 1567.

General Assembly,
25th June
1567.

The celebrated George Buchanan, principal of St Leonard's College, was chosen moderator, who accepted the charge. The appointment of Buchanan to this honourable distinction, is commonly regarded as an anomalous circumstance in the history of the Church courts, as it is not certainly known that he was ever a minister. In my opinion the proceedings of the assemblies at that period cannot with any propriety be drawn into precedent, as the ecclesiastical constitution had not then assumed that regular form which was afterwards established. But I am disposed to think that Buchanan was really to be regarded as an ecclesiastical person. The principals and other masters of colleges were all required to take their turn in the weekly presbyterial exercise of expounding the Scriptures. The principal of St Leonard's College, if not at that time, certainly almost immediately afterwards, was the minister of the parish in which

[Booke of
Univ. Kirk,
p. 93.]
George
Buchanan.

LECT.
XI.

1566.

the college was situate. The person recommended two years afterwards to the principality by Buchanan himself, was Adamson, an ordained clergyman ; and the person actually admitted was Wilkie, minister of Ecclesgreig. I might mention several other circumstances which afford strong presumption, if not absolute proof, that Buchanan was as much in orders as any of the ministers who then sat in the Assembly ; but the question is not of very great importance.

LECTURE XII.

ABDICATION OF MARY—INFLUENCED BY PROCEEDINGS OF THE CHURCH—PARLIAMENT OF 1567—GENERAL ASSEMBLIES—ACT RELATING TO ADMISSION OF MEMBERS—REPRESENTATION OF ROYAL BURGHS IN EARLY TIMES—REPRESENTATION OF THE SYNODS—REFORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN—THE REGENT MURRAY ASSASSINATED—ASSEMBLY, JULY 1570—CASE OF ROBERT HAMILTON OF ST ANDREWS—EXECUTION OF ARCH-BISHOP HAMILTON—INFLUENCE OF THE HAMILTONS—KNOX RETIRES TO ST ANDREWS—EPISCOPALIAN TENDENCIES IN THE CHURCH AT THIS PERIOD—CONVENTION AT LEITH—ITS CONCLUSIONS—ROBERT PONT'S APPOINTMENT AS A LORD OF SESSION APPROVED.

IMMEDIATELY after the dissolution of that General Assembly of which George Buchanan was moderator (June and July 1567), Mary Queen of Scots was persuaded to sign a renunciation of the crown, and to appoint the Earl of Murray (her brother) regent of the kingdom during the minority of the Prince, if, upon his return from France, he would consent to accept the office. On the 29th of July, James VI. was crowned and anointed king by the Bishop of Orkney, in the church of Stirling. The decisions of the preceding Assembly had no small influence on these events. Among other articles subscribed by many of the nobles, barons, and burgesses, in presence of the Church, most of which related to religion, it was agreed that the murder of the Queen's husband was

LECT.
XII.

1567.

Mary's
abdication
influenced
by the pro-
ceedings of
the Church.

[Booke of
Univ. Kirk,
p. 106.]

LECT.
XII.

1567.

a crime which ought to be punished in the most exemplary manner,—that the Prince should be defended against all who were disposed to do him injury,—that all kings and magistrates in time coming should give their oath for maintaining the true religion,—that the Prince should be committed to wise, godly, and learned men of the realm, to be brought up within the same in virtue and the fear of God. The nobility and other subscribers likewise faithfully promised to convene together in arms for the rooting out of idolatry, especially the blasphemous mass, without exception of place or person, and also bound themselves to reform all schools, colleges, and universities throughout Scotland, by removing “the idolaters that bes charges thereof,” and planting faithful teachers in their places. These articles, with others relating to the patrimony of the Church, were subscribed by seventy-six of the principal names in the country.

Parliament
of 1567.

A Parliament, summoned in name of James VI., met on the 15th of December, and was most numerously attended. Various laws were passed in favour of the Church, some of which have been already referred to by anticipation.

[Act. Parl.
Scot., iii.
24.]

One of the most important of the Acts of 1567 relates to the “jurisdiction justly appertaining to the trew kirk and immaculat spous of Jesus Christ,” and is to the following effect:—“The Kingis Grace, with avise of my Lord Regent and thre Estates of this present Parliament hes declarit, and grantit jurisdiction to the said kirk: quhilk consistes and standis in preicheing of the trew word of Jesus Christ, correction of maneris, and administratioun of haly sacramentis: And declaris that thair is na uther face of

kirk, nor uther face of religioun, than is presentlie be the favour of God establischeit within this realme. And that thair be na uther jurisdictioun ecclesiasticall aknowledgeit within this realme, uther than that quhilk is, and salbe, within the same kirk, or that quhilk flowis thairfra, concerning the premises.” ^a

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XII.

1567.

Another Act, which was of not less consequence to the progress of religion, declared, that “forsameikle as be all lawis and constitutionis, it is provydit that the youth be brocht up and instructit in the feir of God and gude maneris, and gif it be utherwyse, it is tinsell (loss) baith of thair bodyis and saulis (souls), gif Goddis worde be not rutit (rooted) in thame. Quhairfoir our soverane Lord, with avise, &c., hes statute and ordanit, that all sculis to burgh and land, and all universities, and collegis, be reformit; and that nane be permittit nor admittit to have charge and cure thairof in tyme cuming, nor to instruct the youth privately or oppinlie, but sic as salbe tryit be the superintendentis or visitouris of the kirk.” (This was the first enactment which gave the power over schools to the reformed Church. In about twelve years afterwards, the General Assembly declared that almost in every private house the book of God’s law was read and understood in our vulgar language; and they represented to the king how happy was the contrast between that state of things and the period which many of them remembered, when the false-named clergy of this realm made it a capital crime to have read the New Testament in their native tongue. But the Act had a special reference to the

[Act. Parl.
Scot., iii.
24.]

^a [On the subject of this enactment the reader is referred to an Appendix to the Second Volume of this work, entitled, “The claims of the Church to a jurisdiction independent of the State.”—Ed.]

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XII.

1567.

universities, in which Romish prelates had hitherto been allowed to retain their patronage, and “uthers to have charge quho hes not yet joynit themselfe to the true kirk of Christ.”)

[Act. Parl.
Scot., iii.
23.]

By the seventh Act of this Parliament, “anent the admissioun of thame that salbe presentit to benefices, havand care of ministrie,” it was “statute and ordanit . . . that the examinatioun and admissioun of ministeris within this realme, be onlie in power of the kirk now oppinlie and publicklie professit within the samin—the presentatioun of lawit patronageis alwayis reservit to the just and ancient patronis, and the patroun presentand ane qualifyit persoun, within sex monethis . . . of the deceis of him quha bruikit the benefice of befoir, to the superintendent of thay partis quhair the benefice lyis, or utheris havand commissioun of the kirk to that effect, utherwayis the kirk to have power to dispone the samin to ane qualifyit persoun for that tyme; provyding that in cais the patroun present ane persoun qualifyit to his understanding . . . within the said sex monethis, and the said superintendent or commissar of the kirk refusis to ressaif, and admit” him, “it salbe lesum (lawful) to the patroun to appeal to the superintendent and ministeris of that province quhair the benefice lyis, and desyre the persoun presentit to be admittit, quhilk gif thay refuse, to appeill to the General Assemblie of this hail realme, be quhome the cause beand decydit, sall tak end as they decerne and declair.”^a

With all his influence, the Regent Murray was not able to obtain the restoration of the ecclesiastical patrimony which was intended to have been the first

^a [See Appendix in the second volume, entitled “Notes on Patronage.”]

object of the Parliament. The thirds of the benefices, however, were formally granted,—the surplus which remained, after supplying the ministers, being reserved, to be applied to the public uses of the State.

LECT.
XII.
1567.
[Act. Parl.
Scot., iii.
24.]

Ten days after the sitting down of the Parliament, the General Assembly met. Besides other proceedings in many points similar to those of former Assemblies, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, was suspended from his function in the ministry, because, contrary to God's laws and the statutes of the Church, he had celebrated the marriage between the Queen and the Earl of Bothwell, a divorced adulterer. John Craig, minister of Edinburgh, likewise arraigned for having published the banns^a between these parties, vindicated himself by declaring that though he had proclaimed them at their own request, thus warning all men in time, if they had any objections to make, he had solemnly protested against the marriage as being odious and slanderous to the world. In a following Assembly, this defence was fully sustained, and his conduct was declared to be highly commendable. The Bishop of Orkney also, after acknowledgment of his offence, was restored to the office of the ministry.

General
Assembly,
Dec. 25.
[Book of
Univ. Kirk,
pp. 214 and
144.]

^a [In the case of Mary's marriage to Darnley, the proclamation took place in the church of the Canongate:—"21st July 1565. John Brand, mynister, presentit to the kirk ane writing, written be the Justice-Clark's hand, desyring the kirk of the Canongait and mynister thairrof, to proclame Harie, Duk of Albaynye, Erl of Rois, &c., on the one part, and Marie, be the grace of God quene soverane of this realme, on the uthair part. The quhilk the kirk ordains the mynister so to do, with invocation of the name of God."—*Buik of the Kirk of Canna-*

gait. In this register, among "the persons that hes communicat, the tyme of thair deceis, day and zeir, beginning anno 1565," are these entries:—"Mons. Signior David wes slane in Halyrudhouse, 9 Mch. 1565;" "The Kyngs grace was blawn up with puder in the Kirk of Field, 10 Feb. 1566."—*Ibid.* The parish of Canongate included not only Holyrood House, but also the Castle of Edinburgh. Under the date Oct. 29, 1613, elders are named for "the Castell," as for other "quarters" of that parish.—*Ibid.*]

LECT.
XII.

1568.
The Queen's
flight into
England.

The Queen having escaped from her imprisonment in Lochleven, was joined by a numerous army in the spring. But having been defeated by the Regent's troops on the 13th of May, she fled into England, where her hopes of regaining the throne were frustrated by the crafty policy of Queen Elizabeth.

General
Assembly,
July 1.
[Spotswood,
Hist., 219.]

An Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 1st of July, of which John Willock was moderator. It is said by Spotswood that he accepted the office with reluctance, because the multitudes that convened, and indiscreet behaviour of some who wished to seem more zealous than others, occasioned great confusion. The number of ministers was now very much increased ; and their meetings, when they were all collected, were subject to the disorder incident to other popular assemblies. No regular system of representation existed. All ministers who chose to come were admitted to have a vote. The commissioners of shires appear to have been elected in the Sheriff Court.

Act relative
to the ad-
mission of
members of
the court.

This Assembly, however, in its second session, made an act regulating the future admission of members. It provided, 1. That none shall have place to vote but superintendents, commissioners for visitation of churches, ministers, and commissioners of shires and burghs, chosen as follows, together with commissioners for universities ; 2. That ministers and commissioners of shires shall be chosen at the synod of the bounds, by the ministers and gentlemen convening there ; and that commissioners of burghs shall be chosen by the council and kirk-session of every town ; 3. That none shall be received without commission in writing ; and lest this turn to a monopoly and perpetual election of a few, that the persons be changed from Assembly to Assembly.

It must be here observed that as the whole of the ministers were considered before this period as constituent members of the supreme Ecclesiastical Court, they had all an opportunity of being present at the discussion of every proposed enactment; and whatever laws were passed, they could not reasonably complain that they were ever taken by surprise. But even when all the ministers of the Church, as well as commissioners from every county and town, had access to vote in the General Assembly, it does not appear that they were in the habit of prescribing rules which they considered binding in all time coming. Many of their ordinances might be considered merely as having force from one Assembly to another. Hence, though the general principles on which they acted were consistent, some variation may sometimes be traced in the application of these principles to practice. It is further to be noticed, that originally the members for burghs were as much chosen by the kirk-session of the town as the commissioners for shires were by the synods, or as the ruling elders for presbyteries, since the erection of these courts, are chosen by the presbyteries themselves. The representation of the royal burghs in the General Assemblies of modern times may be considered as an anomaly in the constitution of the Church Courts. Originally it was not so. The members for the towns were more properly the delegates of the kirk-session than of the council;^a and the

LECT.
XII.

1568.

Represent-
ation of
Royal
Burghs in
the General
Assembly.

^a [In the case of burghs, members of the town council were ordinary, (McCrie's *Life of A. Melville*, ii. 14) if not constituent members of the kirk-session. As in the following instance, they are sometimes entered in the registers in such a manner as to

indicate that they occupied a distinctive position:—"In ye name of God, fader, sone, and haly gaist, amen. The electione of elderis and deaconis of ye congⁿ of cryst his peple wⁱn ye burgh of Aberdene, maid in ye paroch kirk of ye same, in tyme of preching, ye . .

LECT.
XII.

1568.

system was rendered more perfect and harmonious by the appointment of members for the shires, who

day of Nov., yeir of God 1562, &c.

The Minister,— Ye provost, Thomas Menzies.
Adam Heriot. Magistrate, . . .

Elders. Deacons.

M. Robert Lumisden. Johne Tullodoff.

M. Duncan Forbes (and 12 others.) Jo. Leslie (and 5 others.)

others.)

Mr Thomas Fynsie, Scribe to the Assemblie.—*Records of the Kirk-Session of Aberdeen.*

The following are minutes of the election of burgh elders at two different periods, from the Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews, in the first case other representatives being included in the minute of election :—
“Ap. 18, 1593. The Session electit Mr Dav. Russel, bailzie, W^m Lermouth, dean of gild, M. Ro. Yuill, teacher of the evangel, [exhorter], and Charles Watson, Scribe of the Session, or ony ane, twa, or thrie of them, commissioners for the said citie, and Jo. Melvill, Pat. Duddingston, Andro Wod, Geo. Ramsay, or ony ane, twa, thrie, or four of yame, commissioners for the parochiners upon land, to compeir in the Gen^l Assemblie, to be halden at Dundee, &c., and to voitt, resson, conclude, and determine in all things with ye said assemblie.”—“June 1641. Quhilk day after incalling on the name of God, John Lepar, provost, was nominat and chosen Ruling Elder to the approaching General Assembly, to be halden [in] this citie the next month of July, and, in his absence, James Watson, balzie, to await y^e upon for this citie.”

The question being one of some interest, the editor may also give, from the author's separate notes, examples of two different forms of commissions

for burgh representatives in the year 1638 :—

“At the burgh of Air, the 14 day November 1638, the quhilk day, We, the Provost, Baillies, Counsall, and Kirk-sesion of the said burgh, having diligentlie considered the manifold corruptionis, innovationis, and disorders, disturbing oure peace, and leiding to the overthrow of oure religioun and liberties of the reformed kirkis within this realme, qlk is cum to pas especilie [throw] the want of necessar remedie of General Assemblies, alsweil ordinar as *pro re nata*, injoyed by this Kirk for many yeiris, and ratified by Act of Parliament, and now seing, by the mercie of God, oure souveraine lord the Kinge's ma. hes apoynted ane frie gⁿall Assemblie to be haldin at Glasgow, the twentie-ane day of November nixtocum. Thairfor be thir pⁿtis, nominats and electis Johne Stewart, late provest burges of oure said burgh, our lawfull commissioner, geivand and grantand to him oure full commission and expres charge to repair to the said Assemblie at the day and place forsaid, or quhatsoever day and place, quhen and quhair, the samyne sal happen to set, and thair with the rest quha sal be authorised, with lawfull commission in oure name, to propone, treat, reasoun, vote, and conclude, according to the Word of God, in all ecclesiastical matters that sal be proposed, competent to ane frie General Assemblie, &c. In testification of this commissioun, we have subscribit thir pⁿtis with our handis, day, date, and yeir forsaidis. Our common sealis theiirto affixt.

Ro. Blair, minister at Ayr. Ad. Richie, baillye.

Hew Cunyng-hame, elder. Johne Kennedy, deiu of gld.

were really the commissioners of the synods.^a The change of members at every Assembly, if intended to

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P. Davidson, el- Robert Gordon,
der. counsellor."

(Signed also by six other elders, and nine other councillors.)

"Be it kend till [all] men, be thir letters, We, the bailyeis and counsell of the burgh of Glasgow, with advice and consent of ye ministrie and kirk-session thairof, . . . makes, constitutes, and ordaines our weil-beloved Patrick Bell, present provest of the said burgh, our verie lawfull, undoubtit, and irrevocable actour, pro^r, and commissioner, &c. In witness whereof, ye saids bailyies and ordinar ministeris of the said brughe hes subscrivit thir presentis with thair handis, and hes causit affix the seal of the samin brughe thairto, at Glasgow, the fyftein day of November, the yeir of God 1638 yeires, and also subscrivit be ye clerk of ye said toun counsall and ye clark of ye said kirk-session.

Mr Jhon Bell, Tho. Glen, bail-
elder. lyie.

G. Maxwell. Matthew Hamil-
M. Ro. Wilkie. ton, baillyie.

W. Bell, yo^r. Wm. Wilsown,
Ja. Sanders. baillie.

Mr Jo. Patersoun,
ck."

It need hardly be added that, in those days, members of the town-councils were all members of the Established Church, every councillor having, as a burgess, signed what was commonly termed the Burgess Oath. (The "aith maid and given be ilk burges w'in the bur^t of Edin^b, at his ressavng, in presence of the dene of gilde and the counsall"—according to the copy, dated Nov. 3, 1591—began in these terms:—"Heir I protest befoir God and your Lordship, that I profess and allow with my hairt the trew religionn, qlk at this present is

publiclie preachit within this realme, and authorizit be the lawes thairof. I sall abyde thereat, and defend the samyn to my lyfis end," &c.)—By an Act of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 4th August 1819, it was "resolved that it is unnecessary and inexpedient, in the present state of society, to impose any oath upon entrant Burgesses." For twenty years before, according to the report of a Committee of the Town-Council of Glasgow, the oath had not been imposed in any of the burghs in Scotland.—ED.]

^a [From the following curious extracts it appears that the Commissioners of the Shires, or Commissioners of the Barons, as they are otherwise called, were not always appointed in a very regular manner, the same unconstitutional form of election having been sometimes adopted in their case, and sustained, although not without protest by the church courts, as has become common in the case of the Burgh representatives (ED.):—"Feb. 28, 1600. The Presbyterie ordanis ane lettre to be direct to the laird of Balcombie, desiring him to advertise the Baronis within this Presbyterie to be present this day eight days y^t w^t common consent, a commissioner may be chosin to the Generall Assemblie."—"March 8. The Baronis convent have chosen *be themselves* the young laird of Dersy thair commissioner to the General Assemblie; q^rwith the Presbyterie agreed for that time, and ordanis this to be remembered, y^t the baronis be advertiset in all times hereafter to be present at Synodall Assemblies, to the intent the ancient form of election of commissioners may be keepit."—*Records of the Presbyterie of St Andrews*. Comp. *Bulk of Universall Kirk*, p. 947.]

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be complete, would have been attended with much inconvenience. The business cannot proceed with the same regularity and ease, unless a proportion of the members of every Assembly are returned to sit in the next : but, on the other hand, if the same set of individuals continue for many years to take the chief direction of affairs, there must always be great danger lest the capacity for public business should never be formed by many of the younger members. One thing is certain, that if a complete change of members from year to year was ever contemplated, it at least never took place.

Among other matters determined in this Assembly, seven articles were sent to the Regent, the first of which was, that the assignations of ministers' stipends were not answered, being insufficient to pay the half of the stipends, or even the fourth part in some places ; another was, that the charges of the commonwealth ought rather to be laid on the two-thirds retained by the popish clergy, than on the third which the ministers, the schools, and the poor ought to receive. When it is considered that the popish clergy must have annually decreased in number, even if they had all remained in the country (indeed in the course of eight years, at least one-fourth, or rather nearly one-third, must have died), and that the ministers of the reformed religion were annually increasing, it might have been expected that the sum thus left undisposed of, if not given to the Church, would have been adequate to the supply of those incidental charges. But it is well known that the nobility contrived to appropriate all that might have been thus gained to the public. Another of the articles required that commission should be given for reforming the college of Aberdeen, that cor-

rupt teachers might be removed, and other qualified persons appointed. The last article which I shall mention, craved that persons appointed by the council might meet with those who had been named by the Assembly, to decide the questions of the jurisdiction of the Church. Favourable answers were returned to all these propositions. For the purpose last mentioned, a day was named ; but as no meeting took place, the expectations of the Church were still frustrated. To one, indeed, of the articles thus laid before him, effectual attention was immediately given by the Regent.

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In reply to the application for the reformation of Aberdeen University, in which the progress of the protestant cause had been almost completely arrested, not only was a commission at once ordered, but in the course of the following year (June 1569) Murray, being at Aberdeen, summoned the principal, subprincipal, and regents, to appear before the Privy Council, and required them to subscribe the Confession of Faith given forth in Parliament, 24th August 1560, and 15th December 1567, and to submit to the jurisdiction and discipline of the Church. "They refused," it is said in the Act of Council, "to give their said profession by their hand writs: in respect whereof my Lord Regent's Grace, with advice of the Lords of Council, has found the said persons dangerous and unmeet to have care of the instruction of the youth ; therefore, in respect of the said persons plain denial to join in the true kirk of God, my Lord Regent's Grace declares that the said persons are and shall be deprived *ipso facto* of all instruction of youth within the realm, and of all honours, dignities, and functions within the said college." The sentence was pronounced July 3, 1569, by the superintendent of Angus, as

Reforma-
tion of the
University
of Aber-
deen.

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having commission from the kirk to visit the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, who inhibited the foresaid professors from teaching in that college, or elsewhere within the realm, and ordained them to remove with all diligence, that other godly and well qualified persons might be placed there for upbringing of the youth in the fear of God and good letters. On the same day the places of principal and subprincipal were supplied by the appointment of two persons of the highest qualifications, Messrs Alexander Arbuthnot and James Lawson.^a

Most of our church histories about this period are occupied chiefly with the accounts of the perplexing situation of the unhappy Queen of Scots, and the contentions between the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Murray on the subject of the regency. The Duke, who claimed a title to act as vicegerent of the Queen, was extremely anxious to secure the affections of the Church ; and with a view of ingratiating himself, he addressed a letter to the General Assembly which met on the 25th of February, containing strong assurances of regard, and asking them either to make his intentions known to the people, or else to appoint a meeting for the purpose of reasoning with him. The answer which they returned was, that they would send and acquaint the Regent with the proposal. With the

^a As mentioned in a previous note (supra, p. 269), both Arbuthnot and Lawson were required to be tried by the Superintendent of Aberdeen. That the principal might travel in his vocation to the utility of the kirk, and with approbation of the same, he was also presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Arbuthnot, a prebend of the Collegiate Church of our Lady of the Rock ; and the gift with the

superintendent's collation, was declared to be of as great force as if he had been provided thereto in Rome, and obtained bulls thereupon. In the same manner other professors derived their income from tithes, church-lands, or other ecclesiastical property, and were bound by the same conditions as were applicable to the incumbents of parishes.]

approbation of the Regent certain commissioners were sent to the Duke to endeavour to reconcile him to the King's authority. This attempt was unsuccessful; but in the mean time the Duke's power was broken, and his efforts in favour of the Queen subverted by the activity of the Earl of Murray.

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Hitherto I have entered with greater minuteness into the detail of the proceedings of the General Assembly than I propose to do in the sequel, because before this time the affairs of the Church are often said to have been conducted as if a modified system of episcopacy, instead of the strict presbyterian discipline, had been intended to be established. I cannot discover any just foundation for this opinion; but lest I should in any single instance mislead you upon this point, I have mentioned, with unnecessary particularity, almost every case in which the name of superintendent occurs, that you might have an opportunity of judging from the very words of the registers whether these officers possessed the prerogatives, powers, and dignities of bishops, or if they were not in all respects subject to the direction of the Church courts, and removable, not only by the General Assembly, but even by the provincial meetings. Henceforth I shall confine myself to those matters which appear to be of the greatest importance.

The Regent Murray was assassinated at Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who lurked unseen in the house of the Archbishop of St Andrews. The authors of this premeditated murder can never be named without detestation. In gratifying their vindictive passions, they sacrificed the greatest and the best man who ever bore rule in Scotland, and they plunged a nation, beginning to recover from its disas-

Assassination of the Regent Murray, Jan. 23, 1569-(70).

LECT.
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1570.

ters, into the deepest despondency and misery. The Archbishop of St Andrews is considered as having been accessory to the deed; and his subsequent confession, if it has been faithfully reported, fully justifies the suspicion. The confusions following the Regent's death prevented the Assembly from meeting at the appointed time. When it did meet on the 1st of March 1570, it made various regulations with respect to the order of procedure in future Assemblies; while many of its other deliberations related both to important individual cases and to matters of general interest.

General
Assembly,
5th July
1570.

The Assembly which met on the 5th July 1570 chose for its moderator Robert Pont, visitor or commissioner of Moray. At this Assembly it was ordered that all ministers at their entry shall protest solemnly that they shall not leave their vocation under pain of infamy and perjury. It was required that trial should be taken of young children how they are brought up by their parents in the true religion, and that therefore ministers and elders of every parish should examine the children, first when they are nine years of age, again when they are twelve, and a third time when they arrive at fourteen years, that it may be known what progress they have made. The purpose of this regulation was excellent, and if it was duly acted upon, it could scarcely fail to have a good effect. The Assembly also threatened the nobles who had revolted from the King's authority with the severest censures of the Church.

The next case which came before the Assembly is somewhat obscure, though it appears to have an evident connection with the family combination of the Hamiltons in favour of the Queen. I take it from Petrie. "James Carmichael, schoolmaster of St An-

draws, accused Robert Hamilton, minister there, of some points of doctrine delivered in a sermon. The clerk-register, and the justice-clerk, and another lord of the session showed, in the Lord Chancellor's name, that he had heard of that controversy, and that it contained some points tending to treason and against the King's authority; and therefore they required that the Assembly would not decide in that matter concerning the King's authority until the nobility should convene, which would be within a few days; but in such things as concerned heresy, or properly belonged to their jurisdiction, they might proceed. To this protestation the Assembly agreed, and discussed the complaint, in so far as it concerned doctrine and slander." Petrie, after proceeding thus far, quoting from the registers, adds: "But I find not the particulars." Neither do I pretend to have found the particulars; but it appears from the *Buik of the Universal Kirk* that not only Robert Hamilton, but his colleagues, were implicated in this controversy. Who his colleagues were is not so clear as might at first sight be expected. Most of his colleagues in the New College, men of his own class, were certainly men who had a stronger partiality to the Queen's cause than to the King's. But it is probable that the members of the kirk-session are here meant, as they had entered into their minutes at this time a formal approbation of his doctrine.^a

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1570.

Case of
Robert
Hamilton
of St And-
rews,
[Petrie, p.
368.]Buik of the
Univ. Kirk,
p. 115 (179).

^a ["26th April 1570.—Mr Ro. Hamilton, minister of St Andrews, and Mr Wm. Ramsay, second principal minister of St Salv. College, requirit Mr Jo. Wynram, superintendent of Fife, and the session of St Andrews (in consideration of ane accusation given in against them be Mr James Carmichael

and his complices in the sinodall convention last halden in St Leonards scholes, ye 5 of April, &c.) to proceed in ye said matter this day, and to give sentence of absolvit^r or condemnato^r according to justice, upon ye points of ye accusation, for removing of sclander, and pacefying of the past

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1570.

Execution of
Archbishop
Hamilton.

About this time John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, having been made prisoner when the castle of Dunbarton was taken by surprise, was sent to Stirling, and, without almost the form of a trial, was hanged as a murderer and a traitor, because he had been attainted by the Parliament for refusing to recognise the King's authority. It has been reported by contemporary writers that he confessed his knowledge of the plan of murdering the Regent, which he could have prevented if he had chosen. He was suspected also of having been one of the contrivers of Darnley's assassination. But in his last moments, he denied all participation in this crime,—and when he

division in this kirk." (A blank after the minute).

"21 June 1570.—The quhilk day the assemblie of elders and deakins of ye sessioun of ye citie of St Andrews, being requirit be thair minister, Mr Robert Hamilton, as they would answer to God gif that sen ye begining of his ministratioun amang them, either in preaching of ye Word, forme of prayer, or outward and external manier of living, he had transgressit ye limites of his vocation, or left ondoun that becam ane trew and faithful minister, or gif ony abuse was crapin in in his congregatioun be his negligence, or be hym mentenit sen ye beginning of his ministratioun that they would answer in the premiss according to ye trewcht; and to have thair testimonial y'intill in dew form as efferis, quhairby his part myt be knawin in this letter aige and perelus dayis to all quhatsumevir, but speeialie to ye brethrin of ye General Assemblie of this realm, to be halden at Edinburgh ye fyfte day of July next to cum. The quhilk petition the assemblie understanding to be resonable, willing to bear testimonie to ye trewcht, testifies and declars, al in

ane voce, that ye said minister, baith in preaching of ye Word and doctrine, form and maner of prayer, external conversation of lyiffe, to have behaved hymself as becomies the trew minister and serwand of God, swa that as zit by his travel, ye puritie of ye evangel, form of ministratioun of the sacraments and order of disapline offerit to us of the mercies of God sen ye begining of reformation by his notable and excellent instruments, is zit kepit amang us, and swa na abuse, praisit be God, cropin in our kirk be his negligence, nor zit mentenit be hym nor ony thing taught q'of we consait selander, or the godlie justice myt be offendit."

(Same date). "The said day ye session, al in ane voce, after Mr W. Ramsay had desyrit ane testimonial of ye veritie of his doctrine, lyiff, and conversation, sen he begonthe to travel in this citie in ye Word of God and explication y'of, testifies his haill doctrine to be true and sound in all sorts, and his life and conversation to have been haly, guid, and wt out reproach; and heirupon decernit testimonial to be given in due form as efferis." — *St Andrews Session Records.*]

was told that a priest confessed on his deathbed that by his direction he had been present at the King's murder, he replied that the confessions of a penitent ought never to be betrayed, and that on such confessions no man's guilt ought ever to be established. The character of Hamilton was never respected by the virtuous. He was a man of dissolute life, and much more addicted to political intrigue than to the pursuits of learning, or the studies of a divine. His abilities are said not to have been contemptible; but the only production which bears his name, though sometimes praised as an effort of judgment worthy of a better age, reflects but little honour on its author, and even the poor distinction which it might give cannot be claimed by the Archbishop.

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1571.

Hamilton's execution took place in April 1571. The influence of his brother's faction, or, in other words, of the Queen's party, did not altogether perish with him. Two of the men whom he had patronised, and who were most unworthily allowed to occupy stations as masters in an university, and as elders in the church, though their talents, such as they were, appear to have been almost uniformly employed in secretly upholding the cause of popery, continued with no small success, to propagate those sentiments which tended to distract the Government and to overturn the religious establishment. Archibald and John Hamilton,^a professors of philosophy in the New College, St Andrews, seduced many students from their allegiance to the King, and by engaging them to support the pretensions of Mary to resume the possession of the throne, did all that in them lay to withdraw their favour from the Protestant interest. The efforts of these

Influence of
the Hamil-
tons.

^a [Appendix, No. VI.]

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1571.

men, about the time when the Earl of Lennox, Regent of the kingdom, was cut off in a sudden assault conducted by Lord Claud Hamilton, almost broke the heart of the intrepid leader of the Scottish Reformation.

Episcopal-
ian tenden-
cies in the
Church at
this period.

Knox at this time resided in St Andrews. His strength had been reduced by his incessant labours, and by the advice of his friends he retired from Edinburgh for the purpose of obtaining that quiet of mind, as well as bodily relaxation, which he could not command while he remained in the scene of his greatest exertions. The powerful family of the Hamiltons were not the only men who made this retreat more irksome to him than any of the places in which he had formerly resided. Almost all the men of learning in that city had been infected with prelatical feelings, and were rapidly verging towards an episcopalian establishment, not very remote from the Roman hierarchy. Knox, to his unspeakable sorrow, perceived that his views were now counteracted by an overwhelming majority, most of whom had been trained in this theological school. In his sixty-sixth year he felt that the infirmities of premature old age were gaining fast upon him, and he spent his dying strength in unavailing struggles to turn the tide of ecclesiastical opinion.

The Church of Scotland had now, for nearly twelve years, maintained its existence under the severest discouragements of poverty. Its hopes had been deluded, and its claims for support, though not expressly refused, had for many years been almost totally neglected. Allurements were, at the same time, thrown out by the higher powers to induce the leading clergy to countenance the scheme of introducing episcopacy.

This form of church government was perceived to be best adapted to the support of monarchical power ; and it was probably apprehended that the freedom of the popular constitution of the supreme ecclesiastical court, and the equality of rank among the ministers, might gradually lead to democracy in the State. The Earl of Morton, whose influence was rising in the country, had baser motives for pressing the adoption of at least a nominal episcopacy, and the same views actuated many of the other nobles. In order to secure the revenues of the bishopricks (of which some of them had obtained grants), they were anxious to nominate men to the episcopal office who, satisfied with the empty pre-eminence, might the more readily consent to the retention of the temporalities by their patrons. In all ages it must be owned that a great number of the clergy have been too much attached to power, and too easily led by political considerations ; and it is somewhat wonderful that for ten or twelve years there should have been so little display of this weakness in our native Church. Several of the ministers were in fact degraded from their rank by the Reformation. While they were associated with men who had recently started from mechanical occupations (which in those times were, in public opinion, much more removed than they are now from the level of liberal professions), they could not but feel that their fellow-labourers were not in every respect their equals. In the course of a few years more, when the ardour of novelty was worn off, and when they saw those who had been only schoolboys at the period when they might have looked for mitres, rising in rapid succession to the same elevation with themselves, it was scarcely possible for them to avoid feeling some morti-

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1571.

fication, especially when they found that the youngest members of the Church, trained to greater liberty, and early formed to the practice of public speaking, possessed stronger recommendations to popular favour, and speedily acquired that alacrity for business, and those habits of activity which men of long standing, who had been bred in the old school, were not able to attain.

Convention
of Leith,
Jan. 12,
1571-(2).

These feelings of some of the more aged ministers, co-operating with other considerations which are very easily discovered, may account for the sudden change in church policy which was sanctioned by a convention at Leith, claiming the power and privileges of a General Assembly. Six of the Council were selected to hold a conference with six members of the Assembly. The councillors were the Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, the abbot of Dunfermline, Magill, keeper of the Rolls, Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy. The members for the Church were Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Argyle, John Wynram, superintendent of Fife, Hay, commissioner of Clydesdale, David Lindsay, commissioner of the West, Robert Pont, commissioner of Orkney, and John Craig, minister of Edinburgh. After long consultation, they concluded—1. That the archbishopricks and bishopricks void at that time should be given to the most qualified of the ministers. 2. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by bishops in their dioceses. 3. That all abbots, priors, and inferior prelates, appointed to benefices, should be tried by the bishop or superintendent, concerning their qualifications and fitness to give voice for the Church in Parliament, and

be admitted to the benefice only upon their collation.

4. That to the bishopricks then void or to fall void afterwards, the King and Regent should recommend qualified persons, and their elections to be made by the chapters of cathedral churches ; and as various churches of the chapters were possessed by men provided before the King's coronation, who bore no office in the Church, a particular nomination should be made of ministers in every diocese, to supply their rooms till the benefices should fall void. 5. That all benefices of cure under prelacies should be disposed to actual ministers, and to no others. 6. That the ministers should receive ordination from the bishop of the diocese ; and where no bishop was as yet placed, from the superintendent of the bounds. 7. That the bishops and superintendents at the ordination of ministers should exact of them an oath for acknowledging his majesty's authority, and for obedience to their ordinary in all things lawful, according to the form then described.

This is the account given by Spotswood. But he has omitted some not unimportant particulars, which you will find in Calderwood's printed history very fully related. Thus : the archbishops and bishops were to exercise no farther jurisdiction by their spiritual function than the superintendents exercised, till the matter should be more ripely considered. The archbishops and bishops were to be subject to the Church and Assembly *in spiritualibus*, as they were to the King *in temporalibus*. They were to have the advice of six at least of the most learned of the chapter, in the admission of such as should have function in the Church. All common churches were

LECT.
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1572.

[Spotswood,
260.
Calder-
wood, 49.]

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1572.

Robert
Pont's ap-
pointment
as a Lord of
Session.

to be disposed as benefices to qualified persons. 'Some of the other regulations were commendable ; but upon the whole, they had very little claim to be considered as wise conclusions. The real object of them was to put churchmen into titled offices, that noblemen might obtain possession of the temporal lands, and might be relieved from the burden of tithes, hitherto claimed by the beneficed titulars. "How corrupt, how partial, how ready this convention was to please the Court," Calderwood adds, "appears from this. The Regent and Council desired that Robert Pont should become a senator of the College of Justice ; and as he would not consent without the advice of the Assembly, they gave him license to accept the place, provided that he leave not the office of the ministry, but that he exercise the same, as he shall be appointed by the kirk ; and provided further that this their license to him be no preparation to any other minister to procure the like promotion, unless he also shall obtain the advice and license of the Church."^a More noise was

[^a Calderwood, p. 50. Petrie, pt. III. 375. *Buik of Univ. Kirk*, p. 125. In March 1573 (Petrie, iii. 379), "Concerning the desire of the Regent to place some learned ministers senators in the College of Justice, the Assembly, after long reasoning, voted and concluded that none is able to bear these two charges, and therefore inhibits all ministers that none take upon them to be a senator, except Robert Pont only, who is already entered by advice." In the next Assembly, in August of the same year, Pont was accused of not residing in Murray, nor visiting churches two years. He alleged want of leisure, because he was ordained to attend the College of

Justice (Petrie, iii. 380). Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, one of the first Scottish protestants, and one of John Knox's coadjutors and counsellors, was appointed not only a Lord of Session, but also one of the Lords of the Privy Council. In 1567 he was accused of neglecting preaching, and overseeing the kirks, and attending the court, session, and secret council. He granted that he had offended in all that was laid to his charge. (Keith, 586, &c). Galloway was a Lord of Session till his death in 1576.—(See Hailes Catalogue of the Lords of Session). Adam, Bishop of Orkney, was also a Lord of Session in the year 1564 ; for in December of that year,

afterwards made about this case than was becoming. The Church knew that three other ministers held the same office at that time ; and though they did remonstrate occasionally, they never attempted to take the effectual step of deposing any of them for this offence. But the demerits of the convention of Leith will be better considered when we review the next General Assembly.

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according to Calderwood (p. 39), some brethren moved in the General Assembly that the Commissioners of Orkney and Galloway should be asked if they might, with a safe conscience, discharge both the office of a superin-

tendent and of a lord in the session. The answer to this and other questions was referred to another diet. We find the same question renewed at a future Assembly.]

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.—(Vol. I., p. 4.)

PERFORMANCE OF THE COMEDY OF THE FORLORN SON IN ST ANDREWS,
ON SABBATH, August 1, 1574.

The following additional extracts on this subject are from the Records of the Kirk-sessions of Edinburgh :—

“ 1574-5. *Feb.* 17.—The said day compeirit Mr James Lousoun, minister, and producit ane commission of ye gen^l kirk [see *Booke of the Univ. Kirk* (Bann. ed.), vol. i. p. 312], subscryvit w^t ye hand of Mr James Riche, of ye dait, at Edinb. ye xi. day of Aug. 1574, of ye quhilk the tennor followis: Anent ye ans^r reportit fra Mr Robert Hamiltoun, minister of Sanctandrs, dyrect to ye moderator, present to ye bill direct from ye Assemblie to him, for his compeirance befor ym, to answer *super inquirendis*, excusand him be ye besynes of ye college and superintendent of Strathern, quha declarit to him y^t the Assemblie was to dissolve incontinent, ye General Assemblie of the Kirk gevis commission to Mr Johne Spotiswod, superintendent of [Lothian]; Mr Robert Pont, provost of ye Trinitie College; Mr David Lindsay, min^r of Ley^t; John Brand, and ye kirk of Edinburgh, w^t ony thrie of ye foirnमित p^rsonis, to sumond ye min^{rs}, eldaris, and deaconis of Sanct Androis, to compeir befor thame, and to try quhy ye fast was not kept amangis tham according to ye Act of ye said Assemblie, and of *ye violatioun of the Saboth-day* be prophane playis, and sic uyer thingis, as sal be enquirit of thame at their coming, and q^{uod} beis done be thame heirintill, to certifie the brethering in thair nixt Assemblie. . . . The commissioneris above written, and ye kirk of Edinb^t, ordanis ane precept to be direct to sumond ye said minister, eldaris, and deaconis, &c.

“ 1574-(5). *Feb.* 24.—The s^d day compeirit Mr Robert Hamilton, minister, for himself, and as commissioner of his kirk. . . .

The s^d Mr Robert disyrit to sic ye commission, qlk being deliverit to him, allegeit ye precept was generall in y^t part beiring to answer *super inquirendis*, and thairfoir desyrit the heids qlk yai wald inquire of him to be pendit yrefter, delyverit to him, to gif ans^r yrto, of ye qlk heidis the tennor followis, &c. Item, imprimis, to enquir Mr Robert Hamilton, min^r of Sanctandr^s, quhairfoir ye Act of ye General Assemblie was not keipit anent ye fasting. . . . Item, to inquire quhat is ye caus y^t at that tyme Robin Huidis playis wes sufferit to be playit, and thair throw p^phanand ye fasting. . . . To inquire gif ane *Clark play* was playit *at ye tyme of ye preching*, at ye marraige of Mr Tho^s Balfouris dochter, &c. . . . Qlk heidis being deliverit to him, ye said Mr Robert producit his ans^r yairto. . . . As to ye 2^d [question] concerning ye suffering of Robin Huids pl[ayis] certane servands and young children plaid ym certane days, alwayis ye kirk bay^t prevatlie in thair assemblie, and I publiclie in tyme of preching, dischargeit ye samen, as it is notorious knawn, and desyrit ye magistrattis to tak ordour thairwith. 3. Ane *Clark play* wes plaid be ye scollo^rs of ye grammar scull, bot *not at ye tyme of preching*, and zit for causes moving us we dischargeit ye mais to play ye samin, &c. *Sic Subscr. Mr R. H.*"

In the next General Assembly (March 1574-5), it was "thoght meit and concludit that no Clerk playis, comedies, or tragedies be made of the canonical Scriptures, neither on the Sabboth-day, nor work-day, in tyme coming . . . and that uther playes, not made upon authentick partes of the Scripture, may be considderit before they be proponit publicklye, and that they be not playit upon the Sabboth-dayes."—*Booke of the Univ. Kirk*, 322. The following year this subject was again introduced in the General Assembly, but the deliverance just noticed was adhered to.—"Oct. 1576. Sess. 6. Anent the supplication given in be the toun of Dumfermling, for liberty to be granted them to play upon a Sunday afternoon, a certain play which is not made upon the canonical parts of Scripture: The Assemblie refuses to give libertie to the Bailzie of Dumfermling, to play upon the Sunday afternoone, a certaine play, quhilk is not made upon the canonicall parts of the Scripture, in respect of the Act of the Assemblie past in the contrair."—*Ibid.* 375.

No. II.—(Vol. I., page 24).

DID THE PENAL LAWS AGAINST WITCHCRAFT ORIGINATE IN SCOTLAND?

The imputations against Scotland, as being the native country of witchcraft, and the fountain whence the most severe penal statutes against this offence had flowed, became especially prevalent in the last century, in consequence of the popular essay of Bishop Hutchinson, whose rash and inaccurate statements have been copied by Dr Johnson, and many other authors, some of whom we shall have occasion to name. Knowing that this opinion is grossly erroneous, . . . we are tempted to spend a few minutes in attempting to show that the ridicule does not light exactly where these ingenious persons have attempted to throw it.

Mr Harris, in his *Life of James the First*, has said: "James tells us, 'that witches ought to be put to death, according to the municipal law of all Christian nations.' He spoke as he knew; but had his learning been as universal as it was proclaimed, he could not with truth have said so. For Dr Hutchinson assures us, that 'tis so far from being true, that all nations have always had such laws as ours, that he had some reason to doubt whether any nation in the world hath, unless it be Scotland." Hutchinson has certainly said so; and has added, "to Scotland, I conceive, we owe our statute." He is confirmed in this opinion by finding, in the body of the statute of 1st James I., some particulars about taking up dead bodies from the grave, which correspond, apparently, with the confession of Agnes Simpson, who had been examined in Scotland by King James himself. This exhumation of corpses was supposed by Hutchinson to be a new accession to the evil of sorcery, though Reginald Scott, who wrote twenty years before the Act was passed, has minutely described the process. Sir Wm. Stamford, in his book, *Les Pleees del Coron*, printed in 1583, under the title *Sorcerers*, fol. 38 G, refers to a case, "où un homme fuist prise in Southwark, avec un tête et un visage d'un mort homme, et avec un liure de sorcerie." The prisoner escaped the usual punishment of burning; but the human head and the magical writings were burnt on Towerhill. Long before this time, Alexander de Ales, a celebrated English author who

died in 1245, makes particular mention of this form of necromancy, or “*divinatio sub speciebus corporum mortuorum cum invocatione dæmonum*,” and takes notice of the great liking of evil spirits to carcasses and blood. Dr Drake, whose opinions generally coincide with Hutchinson’s, has said (*Shakspeare and his Times*, vol. ii. p. 482): “The only material accession which the Royal James has made to this curious catalogue of the deeds of witchcraft (furnished by Scott), consists in informing us that these aged and decrepid slaves of Satan make pictures of wax or clay; that, by the roasting thereof, the persons that they bear the name of may be continually melted or dried away by continual sickness.” It might be supposed that Dr Drake would know, that in the report of the case of the Earl of Derby, alleged to have died by witchcraft in 1594, three years before the publication of James’s *Demonologie*, and ten years before the last Act against witchcraft was passed, it is said that an image of wax, twisted through the belly with hair, was thrown into the fire, and, “after the melting thereof, he more and more declined.” Robert Holkot, an English divine of the fourteenth century (in his *Comm. super. lib. Sapientie*, Bas. 1506), tells us that *necromantic* figures are made by express invocation of demons, and *astrological*, by tacit paction. From authorities familiar to every schoolboy, we know that the violation of sepulchres, and the fusion or combustion of representations of their victims, were practised by the Roman necromancers in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. On occasion of the death of Germanicus, Tacitus says—“*Sævam vim morbi augebat persuasio veneni a Pisone accepti; et reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutæ humanorum corporum reliquie, carmina et devotiones, et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum, semusti cineres, ac tabe obliti, aliaque maleficia, queis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrari.*”^a Dr Hutchinson expresses his conviction that King James was either the first mover and director of the Act which passed immediately after his accession to the throne of England, or that there probably might be a design of making court to the king by it. Dr Johnson, following out this notion, has said, “The ready way to gain James’s favour was to flatter his speculations; and the system was adopted

^a See also Virgilii, Bucol. 3; Horatii, Sat. 8; Theocriti, Idyl 2.

by all who desired either to gain preferment, or not to lose it." Dr Hutchinson adds, further, "that the translation of our Bible being made soon after, by King James's particular desire, hath received some phrases that favour the vulgar notions more than the old translation did;" and he imputes its disadvantage, in this respect, to the great reverence the translators "had to the king's judgment, and the testimony he gave them of facts from Scotland." Mr Hewlett, a late commentator on the Scriptures, has borrowed all the statements of Hutchinson and Johnson, with some additions from the Rev. Isaac Nicholson: and has insinuated that the translators "introduced the terms *familiar spirit*, *witch*, and *wizard* (which he represents as having nothing corresponding to them in any other version), to flatter the notions of royalty."^a

We humbly think that both King James and the translators of the Bible deserved greater respect than is paid to them by these modern divines, who, with inexcusable rashness, have brought forward a charge, into the validity of which they cannot possibly have inquired. The truth is, that these terms (particularly *witch*, *wizard*, and *witchcraft*) occur far less frequently in the version patronised by King James than in any which preceded it, so far as we have had an opportunity of examining. We do not pretend to have compared every passage; but we note a few, in which some of these words have been employed either in the Bishops' Bible, or

^a Many of the modern writers, from Sir R. Filmer downwards, trusting to etymology, talk as if the consultants with familiar spirits (*εγγαστρομυθοι*, Septuag.) were merely such as deceived people by speaking from the belly, and as if *venefici*, or *φαρμακεις*, were only compounders of drugs for mischievous purposes. If these *would-be correctors* of our version had only looked into Virgil's *Pharmacentica*, they must have perceived that, though vegetable poisons were used by the practitioners of unlawful arts, it was chiefly by charms, invocations, and mystical rites, that they were understood to accomplish their purposes. Deleterious herbs were employed, not to be given to the object of seduction or of vengeance, but to effect the transformation of the enchanter, and to

attract the shades of the departed:

"Has herbas atque hæc Ponto mihi
lecta venena,
Ipsa dedit Mæris.
His ego sæpe lupum fieri et se condere
silvis
Mærin, sæpe animas imis exire sepul-
chris."

Waxen, and other representations, were thrown into the fire to provoke unlawful love (*hec ut cera liquescit—sic Daphnis nostro amore*). Virgil says elsewhere—

"Quos hominum ex facie Dea sæva po-
tentibus herbis
Induerat Circe in vultus et terga fer-
rarum."

Most of these ideas are borrowed from Theocritus.

the Genevan, or the Douay, or the Rhemish, or Wickliffe's New Testament, though others have been substituted for them in King James's translation : Deut. xviii. 14 ; Isa. lvii. 3 ; Eccl. xxxiv. 5 ; Acts viii. 9, 11 ; Rev. ix. 21 ; xviii. 22 ; xxii. 15. The last cited text, which, in our version begins : "for without are dogs and sorcerers," is rendered by Wickliffe, "for withouten forth houndis and wicchis."

The notion of a *familiar spirit*, which, is expressly stated by Hutchinson to have been introduced by King James's translators, was quite common in the English language long before that period, as may be seen in the writings of Arthur Golding, Thomas Beard, George Giffard, and others ; and the old translators of the Bible often use the terms, "workers with spirits," "workers with familiars," "consulters with familiars," and similar expressions, conveying the same meaning. In the version of the Scriptures which had been most used in England for nearly half a century before the accession of James, the phrase "familiar spirits" occurs at least seven times. The 17th chapter of Lord Northampton's *Defensitive against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies*, published in 1583, begins thus : "The last branche, or meane, whereby the contagion of unlawfull prophecies is conveyed into the mindes of mortall men, is conference with damned spirits, or *familiars*, as commonly we call them." He says afterwards : "If juglers may cast a veyle before our eies, whose stratagems are in comparison but plaine and grosse ; by how much more fine and nimble may we deeme *familiars* to be, which hover in a cloud, and cannot be discerned ? When they seek to blind us, 'præstigiis sensum excrecantibus,' as Lacantius termeth them." It should be recollected, too, that Elizabeth's Act in 1562, making witchcraft felony, proceeds upon the supposition that enchantments are practised by "invocations or conjurations of evil or wicked spirits." The same words occur in the Act 33 Hen. VIII. (1541), in which mention is likewise made of images and pictures, which some authors require us to believe were added to the mysteries of witchcraft in the reign of King James. The notion of familiar spirits, as countenanced by all the great theological writers of the middle ages, who considered the term to be warranted by the high authority of St Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, lib. viii., cap. 14). — See *Fortalitium Fidei*, lib v. : *De Bello Demonum* ; *Consid.* 10. *De diversitate Demonum, et si possunt habere spiritus familiares.*

Nuremb., 1494. The opinions of the Catholic Church on these topics are expressed at great length in the various commentaries on the Sentences ; and they are nowhere more explicitly declared than in the celebrated decree of the Faculty of Theology at Paris, in 1398, condemning twenty-seven erroneous articles relating to magic, of which the following specimen may suffice :—" Art. 1. Quod per artes magicas et maleficia et invocationes nefarias querere *familiaritates*, et amicitias et auxilia dæmonum non sit idololatria—*Error*. Art. 2. Quod dare, vel offerre, vel promittere dæmonibus, qualemcunque rem ut adimpleant desiderium hominis, aut in honorem eorum aliquid osculari, vel portare, non sit idololatria—*Error*. Art. 3. Quod inire pactum cum dæmonibus tacitum vel expressum, non sit idololatria—*Error*. Art. 4. Quod per artes magicas dæmones in lapidibus, annulis, speculis, aut imaginibus nomine eorum consecratis vel potius exsecratis, includere, cogere vel arctare, vel eas velle vivificare, non sit idololatria—*Error*. Art. 20. Quod imagines de ære, vel de plumbo, vel auro, vel de cera alba vel rubea, vel de alia materia baptizatae, et exorcizatae, consecratae, seu potius exsecratae secundum prædictas artes et sub diebus certis habeant virtutes mirabiles quæ in libris talium artium recitantur—*Error in fide*, et in philosophia naturali et astrologia vera."—*Bulæi Hist. Univ. Par.*, tom. iv.

Some persons imagine that James was indebted to his presbyterian education for his fancies concerning witchcraft, and for the hostility which he breathed against the covenanted fellow-workers with the devil. It would not be difficult to show that this is also a mistake. We firmly believe that his zeal against witchcraft, like his attachment to Episcopacy, was assumed for the purpose of ingratiating him with the English nation, where a passion for the wonderful has always been much stronger than in this more frigid climate. Long before the death of Queen Elizabeth, some of the most learned men in the English church had been preaching and publishing elaborate discourses against witchcraft. Thus the great Dr John Rainolds, as early as the year 1585, in his theological lectures delivered at Oxford, contended vehemently against the *insane* doctrines of Reginald Scott (see his *Censura Libr. Apocryph.*, a work of stupendous erudition, in the composition of which he spent seven years). Dr Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester, in his *Comfortable Notes on Exodus and Leviticus*, published in

1592, had denounced the heresy of saying that there are no witches. Henry Holland had written a *Dialogue against Witchcraft* (printed at Cambridge 1590), "in which a sathanicall operation in the witchcraft at all times is truly proved." George Giffard, a noted preacher, had published a *Discourse of the Subtile Practices of Devils, by Witches and Sorcerers*, in 1587, and a *Dialogue concerning Witches* in 1593. A *Discovery of the Witches of Warbois, in Huntingdonshire*, was printed in 1594,—a translation of Lewis Lavaterus, *Of Ghosts and Spirits walking by night*, in 1596,—and (not to enumerate the works of Beard, Deacon, Walker, Darrel), *A Strange Report of sixe most notorious Witches, who, by their devilish practices, murdered above four hundred small children* (printed 1601). Perkins, the author of the famous treatise *On the damned art of Witchcraft*, to which Sir George Mackenzie refers so frequently as a standard authority, died two years before King James was seated on the throne of England. King James had been tutored by English advisers to sail with the stream, and he was not mistaken in expecting to gain popularity by writing on demonology, and attempting to confound the presumption of Wierus the Belgian and Scott the Englishman. So far was His Majesty from aiming at originality, that he did not even venture to depart from the example which had been set, of conducting such discussions in the form of dialogue. We are not sure who set the first example of this colloquial mode of treating the subject; but we have been much amused with the dialogues of the great physician Fernelius, who died before King James was born, and whose learned work, *Universa Medicina*, furnishes curious information concerning diseases produced and cured by magical arts. Daniel Sennert, another physician, following in the footsteps of Fernelius, has handled the same topics with a vast profusion of learning and ingenuity.

If it were worth while, it might be proved that most of the peers, bishops, and lawyers, to whom the bill concerning conjuration and witchcraft was referred, after its second reading in 1604, were most unlikely persons to be biased, even by the sovereign, and that they had long before entertained the opinions which are commonly ascribed to King James. In the whole of that numerous committee, there was not a single puritanical name; but there were several of the most violent enemies of the non-conformists, as Bishops Bancroft and Bilson, and Lord Chief Justice Anderson; also several other men of first-rate ability, as the Bishop

of Rochester and Justice Yelverton, who used great freedom with the King. The Earl of Northampton, a sexagenarian, was well versed in the subject, and had written and published a "Defensative against the Poyson of supposed Prophecies." Some of the peers on the committee were supposed to have been the victims, and others the dupes of witchcraft; but if they were apt to be prejudiced, it might have been supposed that the greatest lawyer of the age, Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, who attended as one of their assessors, would have exerted himself to enlighten them. Few bills at that period were more deliberately canvassed before they were passed; and whatever were its defects, they could not be ascribed to the precipitancy with which it was pushed through its different stages. In its original form it was found to be defective, and at the second reading it was withdrawn, for the purpose of introducing it anew, which would not probably have happened if the King had furnished the first outline.

But we cannot conceive why it should ever have been said that the laws against witchcraft originated in Scotland. Dr Hutchinson (an Irish bishop) might have known that there was a law in Ireland, of 28 Elizabeth, describing the crime (it is said) as minutely as the statute of James, which was nearly twenty years posterior; and, strange to tell, this right reverend member of the Irish legislature does not seem to have attempted its repeal, when the British statute was rescinded, so that, if we are not misled by Mr Christian's notes on Blackstone, it continues still in force. With regard to the only act of the Scottish Parliament on the subject, it was not passed till 1563, after there had been two acts against witchcraft in England, one of 33 Henry VIII, and another 5 Elizabeth. Even before the Conquest, however, witchcraft was a capital offence, having been ranked under the head of heresy; so that all who were found guilty were condemned to the flames. In times of popery, the investigation of such questions belonged either to the spiritual or temporal jurisdictions, at least in the case of laymen who (as the *delictum* was *misti fore*) were tried "a præoccupante iudice sive laico sive ecclesiastico." The most severe punishments were inflicted on these offenders by the Roman law, of which Hutchinson has given an imperfect and erroneous account, alleging, too, that the definition of witchcraft was not the same as in modern times, although the rescript of Constantius (An. 357)

says, “Multi magicis artibus aut elementa turbare, vitas insonitum labefactare non dubitant, et *manibus accitis* audent ventitare, ut quisque suos conficiat malis artibus inimicos. Hos quoniam nature peregrini sunt, feralis pestis absumat.” We hear of some most barbarous punishments inflicted on magicians in some nations, as beating their heads to pieces with large stones, in Persia,—a mode of destruction which seems to have been suggested by the practice of crushing the heads of serpents, as the surest way of disarming them. Perhaps it was on this principle that the savage mob of London, after inflicting many barbarities on Dr Lamb, the reputed conjuror and known adviser of Buckingham, dashed his head in pieces with hammers and sticks. Perhaps, too, it may be somewhat in the same way that (as we are told by the learned Dr M. Casaubon, in his preface to Dee’s Relation) the power of doing hurt is taken from witches if they are beaten with a cudgel made of the vine (*trunco vitis*). We almost venture to think that if they are beaten long enough with a stick of any kind, whether vine or mountain ash, the charm against future mischief will be firm and good; but it appears, from the terms of the prescription, that the virtue of the process depends more on the quantity than the quality of the materials, as if it were merely the species of plant that exerted this efficacy; a tendril of the vine might be as potent as the trunk.

Dr Casaubon’s simplicity in treating these matters would have stamped him for a fanatic, if he had unfortunately belonged to our nation. Yet Dr Henry More, Mr Glanville, chaplain to Charles II., Dr Thomas Jackson, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and other ornaments of the English Church, considered such relations as of the highest importance for the confutation of infidels; and they have filled large books with them, as the most effectual antidotes against atheism. A later divine, Dr Hancoek, in his Sermons at Boyle’s Lecture (vol. ii. p. 216, &c.), produces, among the arguments to prove the being of a God, apparitions, witches, prodigies, *dæmoniacs*, and other extraordinary phenomena. He has here copied the great Dr Cudworth, who says, the “*phænomena* of apparitions, magicians, *dæmoniacs*, or *energumeni*, proves the real existence of spirits. As also, that among those spirits there are some foul, unclean, and wicked ones, which is some confirmation of the truth of Christianity. As for wizards and magicians,

persons who associate and confederate themselves in a peculiar manner with these evil spirits, besides the Scriptures, there hath been so full an attestation given to them by persons unconcerned in all ages, that those, our so confident exploders of them in this present age, can hardly escape the suspicion of having some hankering towards atheism." (*Intell. Syst.* Lond. 1678, p. 702.) These expressions remind us of the anecdote which Sinclair has preserved of one of the clerical visitors of Major Weir. This minister (not a Presbyterian) "demanded, 'If he thought there was a God;' said the man, 'I know not.' That other smartly replied, 'O man, the argument that moveth me to think there is a God, is thyself; for what else moved thee to inform the world of thy wicked life?'" This is a great deal more rational than many of the speculations of the theologians whom we have named, to whom we may add a clergyman of no inconsiderable learning, mentioned in Lauderdale's letter to Baxter, namely, John Weemse, one of the prebendaries of Durham, and minister of Dunse, about two hundred years ago, who, in his "Treatise on the four Degenerate Sonnes," produces the following as his first argument against atheism: "Atheists cannot deny but that there are devils; and if they grant that there are devils, they must grant also that there is a God. But perhaps they will deny that there are devils; what will they say then to the dæmoniacs that are possessed, and in strength surpass many men, and sometimes they speak both Greek and Hebrew, being idiots and unlearned?" Weemse's "Treatise on the Magician" is more curious than almost any other book of the kind. But even the learned Joseph Mede, though he was sceptical on the subject of demoniacal possession, uttered some very whimsical fancies concerning the appearances and operations of the devil, one of which was, that (as even Mr Robert Law happens to have learned from him) before the fall of Adam the devil could not appear in the human shape, and even since the fall, when he takes the form of a man, it is always with some deformity. But though Mede thus limits the power of the devil in one respect, he extends it in another greatly beyond the degree usually assigned to it by Protestants; for he supposes that the Tartars were transported to Mexico by infernal agency. Sir George Mackenzie's "Dissertation on Witchcraft" is compiled chiefly from English authors. He denies, however, several of their positions—such as that the devil can

transform one species into another, as a woman into a cat. This achievement, so incredible and incomprehensible to the Scottish advocate, is quite possible in the opinion of Dr H. More, who even tells us how it is done. "The devil," says he, "melts the yielding compages of the body to such a consistency as is fit for his purpose, and makes it pliable to his imagination."^a

Considering all that has been written on these subjects, even by men of acknowledged talents and learning, we think there is still great scope for inquiry into the origin of the strange opinions which long prevailed almost universally. It is quite incorrect to suppose, with Warburton, that they were imported into Europe by the remnant that returned from the crusading expeditions. The ancient laws of England demolish this hypothesis. Long before the Crusades, too, Agobard, bishop of Lyons, wrote against the vulgar errors concerning witchcraft, ridiculing the opinion that storms could be raised, and other disasters occasioned, by the persons styled *Tempestarii*. In the judicious treatise, *Contra insulam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis*, he mentions some notions which prevailed in the ninth century, and which, in the course of ages, have long been extinct even among the most credulous: "Plerosque vidimus et audivimus tanta dementia obrutos, tanta stultitia alienatos, ut credant et dicant quandam esse regionem, quæ dicatur Magonia, ex qua naves veniant in nubibus, in quibus fruges quæ grandinibus decidunt, et tempestatibus pereunt, vehantur in eandem regionem, ipsis videlicet nautis æriis dantibus pretia tempestariis, et accipientibus frumenta." He expresses great surprise at the confession of some poor wretches who suffered death for occasioning a mortality among the cattle, by means of powder scattered in the fields (*Bibl. Patrum.*, tom. ix. p. 1233, &c.) At a much earlier period, we learn from the fathers of the Church what was the state of magical practice soon after

^a Many of the most frightful stories, too, which are sometimes quoted from Scottish authors, have been borrowed by these writers from the annals of France and England. The horrible relation concerning the priest Palumbus, which Mr Scott, in his notes to the "Border Minstrelsy," has transcribed from Fordun, is abridged by that writer from

William of Malmesbury, to whom he is also indebted for the tragical catastrophe of the Berkeley Witch, communicated to the aforesaid William by a man who would swear he had seen it. The most disgusting part of the story of the Scottish Witches, as related by Spotswood and Sir James Melville, is derived from Montrelet's Chronicles.

the introduction of Christianity. In the dark ages, we have many copious details furnished by the scholastic divines, all of whom considered it as absolutely necessary that every book of magic or necromancy should be committed to the flames. Some of these commentators on the Sentences have preserved circumstances, which, but for their labours, would inevitably have perished. All of them declare that, in every variety of incantation, of sorcery and divining, there is a compact with evil spirits, either expressed or implied (*explicitum aut implicitum*). Many of the writers of the middle ages accuse some of the popes of having been guilty of unlawful acts; fifteen at least of them, from Silvester II. to Gregory VII., are described as devilish sorcerers and Egyptian magicians. These hard epithets, first conferred by popish writers, are retailed, with many aggravations, by several foreign and British authors: as Platina, Valera, Szegedinus, Holkot, Robert Barns, John Bale, Matthias Prideaux, and John Napier, the inventor of logarithms. This last author considers the exorcism of the Roman Church as containing “magical enchantments, and conjurations of oyl, of salt, of holy water, of bells, beads, &c.; and further, every high altar is erected with joynts, hair clouts, cloths, threeds, and worseds of divers hues, and divers other reliques of dead men, laid and builded behind the said altars, as they doe testifie whose eyes hath seen the same.” (Napier on Rev. c. 9, 21.) Somewhat after the same fashion, the fathers of the Church accuse heretics as practising enchantments. After the Reformation, the Lutherans and other separatists from the Romish Church were universally denounced as having been led away by witchcraft; and yet, notwithstanding this clamour, the accusations of witchcraft became less frequent in proportion as the Church was more purified from the corruptions of popery. Luther says—“When I was a child, there were many witches and socerers, which bewitched both cattle and men; but now, in the light of the gospel, these things be not so commonly heard of, for the gospel thrusteth the devil out of his seat.” (*Comm. on Galatians.*) This accords with the opinion of Cleland, in referring the departure of the fairies to the opening of men’s eyes by the Reformation. (*Pref. Not.* p. xiii.) Archbishop Hamilton, in his Catechism, ascribes no small efficacy to witches; but he earnestly warns all good Catholics against seeking such help. Maldonat, the Jesuit, in his cele-

brated *Traicté des Anges et Dæmons*, written in 1570, expresses the utmost indignation and horror at the incredulity of Calvin and his followers on the subject of sorcery and apparitions, though, he says, everybody knows that on the Apennines there are as many witches as women. This Spanish divine affirms also, that within the memory of persons then living, there had been a college at Salamanca for teaching magical arts.

"Conjurings of spirits," or exorcisms, were abjured by the Presbyterians of Scotland in the National Covenant, and the Papists were very severe upon them for the renunciation of this doctrine, as may be seen in *Presbyteries Triall*, p. 512, where it is said, on the authority of Staphylus (*Absolu. Respons.*), that Luther once tried to cast out a devil from a woman, but failed in the attempt. The Church of England did not in the same manner condemn the practice of exorcism; and though the *form* of exorcising infants in baptism, prescribed 2 Edward VI. ("I command thee, unclean spirit, that thou come out, &c.") was afterwards omitted, Bishop Sparrow considers the *substance* as being still retained in the prayers about triumphing "against the devil, the world, and the flesh;" a combination of enemies which, we beg leave to remark, is not mentioned in any one passage of Scripture. In the 72d Canon of the Church of England (1603), it is provided that no minister shall *exorcise without license*; and we believe this was occasioned by the dispute with John Darrell, the only nonconformist who could be proved to have tried this hazardous operation.

We believe that the merit of repealing the statutes against witchcraft (1736) belongs chiefly to Lord Chancellor Talbot. The measure was not carried without some opposition from a factious Scotch member of the House of Commons, whose library was well stocked with books of dæmonology, and whose personal history proved that he would not have scrupled much at the atrocity of bringing his own wife to the stake. Though we do not approve the parliamentary conduct any more than the domestic arrangements of that dissentient legislator,^a who at one period of his life

^a [The Hon. James Erskine (Lord Grange), then member of parliament for the Stirling district of burghs. His well known "sequestration," as he called it, of Lady Grange in the island of St

Kilda (where she died in 1745), had been effected two years before the debate on the repeal of the statutes against witchcraft—viz. in 1734.—ED.]

presided in one of the criminal courts, we think it was not very prudent, on the other hand, in the supporters of the repeal, to give out that the British Parliament was imitating the wise and humane example of Louis XIV. In 1672, Louis had prohibited the chambers of justice to receive any informations against enchanterers. This very circumstance was enough to have excited the jealousy of the community, as they saw little reason to eulogise either the justice or the merey of a monarch who, not long after he had manifested this sensibility for the fate of supposed sorcerers, revoked the edict which protected the safety and liberty of his Protestant subjects, and thus exposed myriads of faithful Christians to certain destruction.

No. III.—(Vol. I., page 32.)

DECLARATOR in the COURT of the SUPERINTENDENT of FIFE, M.D.LXI,
upon the Articles and Sentence against Sir John Borthwick, Knight,
by Cardinal Beaton, M.D.XL.

(From the Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews.)

Followis the Ordor and Process deducit in the Declarator gevyn upon
the Articles and Sentence gewyn agains Schyr Jhon Borthuick of
Cenerie, Knycht, be umq^{ll} David, Cardinall.

Die Vigesimo Mensis Augusti Anno Dni M^ov^e LXI ;—

The quhilk day comperis Schyr Jhone Borthwick, Knycht, and
produces ane commission and supplicatione, subscrivit be the
Lordis of our Soweran Ladeis Secreit Counsall, of dayt at Eden-
burgh the xij of August instant, direct to the Superintendent and
Ministrie of Sanctandrois, for cognicione taking upon the articles
and sentence thairupon gewyn be umquhill David Cardinall Arch-
bishop of Sanctandrois, agains the said Schyr Jhon Borthwick
condempnyng the said articles heretical, and the said Schyr Jhon
thairfor infamit and punissed, &c. And to gewe thair Declarator

thairupon as they fynd, according to the law and Word of God; Quhilk commission red and understand be the saids Superintendent and Ministrie, and they accepand the same at desyr of Schyr Jhon, they decern hym ane edict to summond al hawand interest or pretending interest in the said causs, or ony thing that followed thairupon, to compear for thair interest upon the fywe daye of September nixt to cum befoyr thame. And the said Schyr Jhon exhibitis and delivers to the Ministeres foyrsaid the trewe exemplar of the foyrnamed articles and sentence copied and collationat be Jhon Mosman, notar public and scribe to the Schyrref Deputes of Edenburgh, under his signe and subscription, sufficientlie recognoscit be hym, drawn furth of the actentik extract of the same extract furth of the regyster of the sayd umq^h David Cardinall, be Maister Andro Olephant, notar publict and secretar to the said umq^h David Cardinall, under his signe and subscription, and be Jhon Lord Borthwick, purchest be compulsatoris executed upon the said Mr Andro, and be the said Lord produced befoyr the sayds Schyref deputis, to be seyn, considerit, and discussed. In the myd tym, and also presentlie, declaris his mynd in quhat sense he spak the saids articles be explicatione thair of, of the quhilkis articles and sentence the tenoris followis.

JOANNES BORTHUIK, CAPITANEUS BORTHUIK, wlgariter nuncupatus suspectus infamatus et convictus per testes omni exceptione majores Anno Domini 1^m^v^c qudragesimo, vigesimo octavo Mensis Maij, in Cœnobio St Andr. presentibus Reve^m^s ac reverendis et venerab^{us} in Christo patribus Gavino Archiep^o Glasgven. regni Scotiæ Cancellario; Willelmo Abyrdonen. Henrico Candidæ Casæ et Capellæ regiæ Strewillengen. Joanne Brechinen. et W^m^o Dumblenen. Ecclesiarum Episcopis; Andrea de Melross, Georgio de Dunfermling, Joanne de Pasleto, Joanne de Lindoris, Roberto de Kynloss, et W^m^o de Culross, Monasteriorum Abbatibus; Macolmo de Quhytern, Joanne de Pyttynweyme Prioribus; Mag^{ro} Alex^{ro} Balfour, vicario de Kilmanie, Rectore Universitatis Sancti Andr. Mag^{ris} N^{ris} Joanne Mayr, Petro Capellano, in sacra theologia professoribus et doctoribus, Martino Balfour, in sacris literis et decretis bachalario officiali Sancti Andreæ principali, Joanne Wynram, Supprie, Joanne Annand, et Thoma Cwynngham. canonicis ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ Fratribus, Joanne Thomson, priore fratrum prædicatorum civitatis Stⁱ Andreæ, cum socio Joanne Tuledaf Guardiano fratrum minorum dictæ civitatis Stⁱ

Andr  e, et Joanne Paterson, vicario conventus ejusdem ; Neenon pr  sentibus nobilibus, potentibus, et magnificis Dominis, viz. Georgio de Huntlie, Jacobo de Arane, Willelmo Marescallo, Willelmo de Montross, comitibus, Macolmo D^{no} Flemyng, Camerario Scoti  , Joanne D^{no} Lyndesaye, Joanne D^{no} Erskyn, Georgio D^{no} Setoun, Hugone D^{no} Somerwyll, Jacobo Hamyltoun de Fymart, Waltero D^{no} Sancti Joannis de Torphichen, militibus, Mag^{ris} Jacobo Fowlis de Colintoun, S.D.N. regis ac registri clerico, Thoma Ballindyn, ejusdem Dⁿⁱ N^{ri} Regis justiciario clerico, et multis atque compluribus aliis Dⁿis baronibus ac honestis personis, in testimonium premissor. rogatis et requisitis ; Hos sequentes tenuisse errores publice dogmatasse et iustruxisse—viz.

Primo et in specie Sanctissimum Do^m Nostrum Papam Jesu Christi servatoris nostri vicarium non habere nec posse exercere aliquatenus majorem auctoritatem in Cristianos quam quicumque alius Ep^s vel sacerdos.

Indulgentias concessas a supreme D^{no} N^{ro} Papa nullius esse roboris efficac  e vel momenti, sed duntaxat eas ad populi abusionem et animarum earund. deceptionem fuisse et esse factas.

Papam esse symoniacum pub^m quotidie vendentem dona spiritualia ; et presbyteros omnes per matrimonium conjungi et copulare debere.

Omnes h  ereses Anglicanas vulgo nuncupatas seu saltem earund. majorem et saniozem partem de pr  senti per Anglos observatas fuisse et esse bonas justas et Christi fidelibus observandas tanquam veraces et divin  e legi conformes ; quas etiam publice affirmavit dogmatizavit authorisavit, diversas et plurimas personas ad illas acceptandum persuadendo.

Populum Scoticanum fuisse et esse omnino exc  catum et abusum per ecclesiam Scoticanam et ejusdem clerum, quos dixit et affirmavit non habere veram fidem Catholicam, et per hoc publice affirmavit et pr  dicavit fidem suam fuisse meliorem et pr  stantiorem quam fidem omnium aliorum ecclesiasticorum in regno Scoti  .

Conformiter ad veteres errores Joannis Wycleif et Joannis Hwss h  reticorum in Consilio Constantiensi condemnatorum, affirmavit pr  dicavit Ecclesiasticos non debere possidere nec habere possessiones aliquas temporales, imo nec etiam habere jurisdictionem aut auctoritatem aliquam in temporalibus, etiam in eorum subditos, sed [omnia h  c] ab eis similiter subtrahi debere quemadmodum his diebus fit in Anglia.

Mendose et contra honorem statum et reverentiam sacre regi  

Majestatis Scotorum, dixit tenuit et asseruit, regem Scotorum nostrum serenissimum, Cristianæ fidei propugnaculum, velle sibi appropriare contra jura et libertatem ecclesiæ possessiones terras et redditus, a progenitoribus et etiam a Cristomet^a serenissimo regi ecclesiæ datas et concessas, et in suos privatos usus converti, et ad hoc ut se multipliciter ascripsit eundem serenissimum Do^m nostrum regem toto conamine suasit.

Voluit ac petiit et frequenter ac ferventer ex animo desideravit ecclesiam Scoticanam pervenire et deduci ad idem punctum eorund. et similem finem et ruinam ad quam ecclesia Anglicana jam actu pervenit.

Publice tenuit dixit asseruit et affirmavit ac prædicavit et dogmatizavit, leges ecclesiæ videl^t sacros canones et sanctorum patrum decreta ab ecclesia sancta Catholica et apostolica approbata nullius esse vigoris aut valoris, inferendo propterea affirmando eadem fuisse et esse contra legem Dei condita et emanata.

Pluribus ac multimodis vicibus dixit tenuit et affirmavit et publice asseruit, nullam religionem fore observandam sed illam simpl^r abolendam et destruendam fore et esse sicut nunc in Anglia destructa existet: Omnem sanctam religionem vilipendendo, et affirmando fore propter abusionum eorum habitus per eos delati asseruit, eos esse deformes admodum monstrorum nihil utilitatis aut sanctitatis præ se ferentes. Inducendo propter hoc et suadendo, quantum in eo erat, omnes suæ opinioni adhærentes ut omnis religio in regno Scotiæ simpl^r et penitus tollatur ac destruat in maximum Catholicæ eccl^{iæ} scandalum et Cristianæ religionis diminutionem et detrimentum.

Planè constat per legitimas probationes eundem JOANNEM BORTHUIK habuisse et actualiter habere diversos libros suspectos, de hæresi damnatosque, tam papali quam regia et ordinaria etiam autoritatibus lege prohibitos, vid^t specialiter et in specie *Novum Testamentum in vulgari Anglice impressum*, *Ecclampadium*, *Melanctonem*, et diversos *Erasmii* et diversorum aliorum hæreticorum condemnatorum necnon et librum *Unio Dissidentium* nuncupatum manifestissimos et maximos errores seu hæreticos assertiones in se continentes, illosque tam publice q^{uam} privatim legisse studuisse aliisque præsentasse et communicasse, atque plures Cristianos in eisdem instruxisse docuisse et dogmatizasse, ad effectum divertendi eos a vera fide Cristiana et Catholica.

Eundem JOANNEM BORTHUIK in omnibus his erroribus et hæresibus tam pertinacem esse constat, et indurato animo eosdem sustinuisse docuisse dogmatizasse, sic ut nolit ab eisdem, diversis suis amicis et personis

^a Sic in MS. — Qu. ab ipsomet?

illum diligentibus, et ad fidem sanctam Catholicam reducere volentibus cupientibus et suadentibus, ullo modo divertere nec a suis erroribus per eorum consilium declinare velle, aut illis sic suadentibus aliquatenus acquiescere, sed potius in suis erroribus immobiliter persistere vellet, de quibus omnibus præmissis et multis aliis erroribus, per eum tentis dictis publicatis affirmatis prædicatis et dogmatizatis, est et laborat publica vox et fama, et ita dictus Joannes Borthuik ut hæreticus hæresiarcha, pessime de fide Catholica sentiens, a compluribus personis tentetur habetur et reputatur. Propterea nos DAVID CARD^{LIS}, &c., sedentes pro tribunali, more judicum judicantium, positus coram nobis sacrosanctis Dei evangeliis ut de vultu dei iudicium nostrum prodeat et oculi nostri videant æquitatem, solum Deum et Catholicæ fidei veritatem præ oculis habentes, ejusque nomine sanctissimo primitus invocato, habito in et super his et secuto prudentium consilio tam theologorum quam jurisperitorum, præfatum Joannem Borthuik Capitaneum dictum de præmissis hæresibus et dogmatibus iniquis et multipliciter damnatis, ut præmittitur, suspectum infamatum et per legitimas probationes contra eum in singulis præmissis hæresibus convictum, et legitime vocatum citatum et non comparentem, sed profugum et fugitivum, absentem tanquam præsentem sententiamus pronunciamus decernimus definimus et declaramus vere hæreticum et hæresiarcham fuisse et esse, ac pœnis heretici convicti et hæresiarchi debitis plectendum puniendum et castigandum fore, et propterea curiæ et potestati seculari tradendum et relinquendum, prout tradimus et relinquimus omniaque et singula ejus bona mobilia et immobilia qualitercunque et quocunque titulo acquisita, et in quibuscunque partibus existant, ac officia quæcunque per eum hactenus habita, salvo tamen dote et parte seu portione bonorum uxori suæ incumbendis quæ personis fiscis et usibus, quibus de jure et consuetudine regni applicare debeant, per præsentem confiscamus et applicamus, ac confiscari et applicari decernimus et declaramus per præsentem: Neenon dicti Joannis effigiem manu factam, et ad ipsius instar depictam et formatam, publice per hanc nostram civitatem Sancti Andreæ in curru devehendam, et postea apud crucem foralem ejusdem nostræ civitatis in signum maledictionis, aliorumque terrorem et exemplum, ac suæ contumaciæ et condemnationis perpetuam memoriam, fuisse et esse comburenda similiter decernimus, non minus tamen quod si postea idem Joannes apprehendatur eum similes pœnas juxta juris dispositionem heresiarchis debitas subiturum similiter decernimus et declaramus, nulla spe misericordiæ desuper subsequente, ac omnes et singulos utriusque sexus Cristi fideles cujuscunque dignitatis status gradus ordinis conditionis vel præ-

eminentiæ fuerint, ac quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana præfulgeant dignitate, tenorum præsentium expresse monemus, ne abhuc dictum Joannem Borthuik hæreticum et heresiarcham convictum et declaratum in eorum domibus hospitiiis castris villis oppidis aut aliis quibuscunque locis recipiant seu admittant, aut sibi esculenta vel potulenta aut aliqua alia humanitatis obsequia et necessaria ministrent seu ministrari faciant, aut secum communicent edendo bibendo aut aliquo alio humanitatis solatio eidem impendendo aut pertractando, sub simili majoris excommunicationis pœna, et cum certificatione, quod si in præmissis culpabiles inventi fuerint, quod accusabuntur propterea ut hæreticorum fautores receptores et defensores et prius eisdem incumbentibus prout de jure puniuntur. Lecta lata et in scriptis redacta fuit hæc nostra sententia in ecclesia nostra metropolitana et provinciali Sancti Andreæ nobis inibi in navi ejusdem super scalam et pro tribunali sedentibus, sub anno incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo quadragésimo, die vero Mensis Maij vigesimo octavo.

DIE QUINTO MENSIS SEPT. ANNO DOMINI M^oV^oCLXI.

The quhilk daye Master WYLIAM SCOT comperis as procurator, and in name of Schyr JHON BORTHUIK, knyght, be his mandat, red and admittit, and produces ane edict of the Superintendent and Ministrie present under thair sail, deulie executit and indorsat tharin, summond be oppyn proclamation at the mercat croce of the citie of Sanct Androis, upon the premonition of xv dayes bypast, al and syndry hawand or pretending to have interest in the causse of discussing and declarator gewyn upon the articles allegit, haldyn be the said Schyr Jhon, be umqⁿ David Cardinal, Archbishop of Sanct Andros, as at mayr lent is contenit in the said edict ; and al and syndry forsayds hawand iuteres, and being oft tymes called, and nane comperand, to propone or use ony defence of objectione in the sayd cawss and stop of the sayd declarator, the superintendent and ministrie ryplie and maturelie awysed with the saids artikles and sentence, the consall of godlie lernit men, and thair consents thairto had, pronounces thair Declarator as follows:— To al and syndry, to quhais knawlege thir presentis sal cum, Mais-ter JHON WYNRAM, Superintendent of Fyff, minister, eldaris, and diaconis of Cristis kyrk within the reformed citie of Sanct Androis, grace, mercie, and peace from God our Father through Jesus Crist our Lord and onle Savior, with perpetual increass of his

holie spirit. It mot be knawen that we, be vertue of ane commission and supplication, direct to wss be deliverance of the Lordis of our Soweran Ladeis secreteit consayll, under thair Lordschippes subscripshonis, of dayt at Edenburgh the xij day of August, in the zear of God M^ov^elxi yearis, purchest and presented befoyr wss be Schyr Jhon Borthuik of Cenerie, knycht, being requested and desyrit to consider certane articles alleged haldyn be the said Schyr Jhone Borthuik, and quharupone ane pretendit sentence wess gewyn be umqu^{ll} David Cardinall, archbishop of Sanct Androis, decernand the saids articles hereticall, and thairthrough the said Schyr John to be infamed and punissed: And the said articles being fundyn be uss ressonabyle, conform to Goddis word, and not hereticall, to declar the said Schyr Johne not to have falzeit tharintill, nor to be infamed nor punissed, or to incur ony skayth therthrowgh, bot that he may persow his just actionis befoir quhatsumewer jugis, notwithstanding the samyn; and to gewe our declarator thairupon, conforme to the law and word of God: Quhilk commissione being be uss resavit with reverence and obedience, as efferit, together with the trew exemplar of the foyrnamed artiklis and sentence copeit and collationat be Jhon Mosman, notar publict, and scribe to the Schyrreff Deputis of Edenburgh, under his signe and subscripshon, drawyn furth of the actentik extract of the samyn, extractit furth of the register of the sayd umqu^{ll} David Cardinall, under his signe and subscripshon, and be Jhon Lord Borthuik, purchest be compulsatoris, executed upon the said Mr Andro, and be the said Lord produced befoyr the saids Schereff Deputis, the copies quhairof ar registrat in our bwks: And efter our acceptation of the foyrsaid commission, all and syndry hawynd or pretending to have interest in the said cawss, or ony thing that followed thairupon, being summond be our publict edict and proclamation of the sam at the marcat croce of the said citie (and copie thair of affixed upon the said croce), to compeir for thair interest at certan day and place thairin assigned, upon the premonition of xv dayes warnyng preceding the said day: And we in the mayn tȳm hawand trial, consideration, and jugement in discussing of the saids artikles and sentence, with the consail, jugement, and consent of venerable and godlie lernit men, to wyt, Mr Jhon Dowglass, rector of the Universite of Sanct Androis, and prowest of the New College, Mr Robert Hamyltone, regent in the same, Mr

Jhon Rwtherfurd, principall, Master W^m Ramsay, and Master David Gywld, mesteris in Sanct Salvatoris College, Mr Jhon Duncanson, principall, and Mr James Wylkie, regent in Sanct Leonards College, with otheris diverss ministeres and professores of Godis word, the explication of thè said Schyr Jhon Borthuik, concerning certan generaliteis contenit into sum of the saids artikles be wss hard, considerat, and with the saids artikles conferred and fullelie aggreand: We find the saids artikles rationabill, not hereticall, bot ma stand with Godis word, and none of them bot may be interpret to ane gud sense, according to the mynd of the said Schyr Jhon in his explication tharof: And heirfor declars the saids artikles rationabill and not hereticall, and the said Schyr Jhon Borthuik not to haw falzeit tharintyll, nor to hawe deservit infamite punischement nor skath tharfor, bot he as ane man of gud fame may persow his just actionis befor ony juge competent, notwithstanding the said pretendit sentence, quhilk in the self we declair to be null and wranguslie gewyn, and the geauris tharof to haw schawyn thaimselfis tharby men ignorant of Godis word and lawis, and plane inemeis to his trewth. Pronounced in the Consistoriall hows, within the parochie kyrk of the citie of Sanctandrois, upon the v day of September, in the zeir of God M^ov^olxi zeares, as day assigned in our said edict, in payne of not compearance of tham hawand interest heyrto summoned, called, and not comperand. In wytness and testimonie of the premiss to thir our present letters of testimoniall and declarator, subserinit with our hands, the sailis of superintendent and ministrie forsayd are affixed year and day foyrsays.

No. IV.—(Vol. I., page 49.)

GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF CRAIL.

In 1542, (Oct. 5), Sir David Bowman, prebendary of the altar of St James the Apostle, in the College Church of St Mary's of Crail, granted a charter establishing this school "in favour of his kinsman, Mr John Bowman, priest, and his successors, priests and preceptors of the grammar school of Crail, at the altar of St John the Baptist, in the College Church of Crail, to offer

prayers for the prosperity and safety of James V., and his queen, Mary, and of the Most Reverend David, Cardinal and Archbishop of St Andrews, and for his own soul, and those of his father, Hugh, and his mother, Elizabeth, and Sir John Bowman, his brother, deceased, &c.,—disponing a croft of 6½ acres, with tenements and gardens, lying, &c.; another croft of arable land, called Lyne Croft, containing half an acre, &c.; also his tenement, with several houses, biggings, and yards (gardens) lying in the overgate or mercat gate, &c.; with a field above the garden toward the north, extending up to the common loan, between the land of the Holy Cross on the west, and the land belonging to the prebendary of the blessed Virgin on the east,” &c. &c.

The original deed is extant. Some of the provisions are worth transcribing:—“*Insuper volo q^d dictus Mr Jo. Bowman et sui successores eandem capellaniam possidentes pro tpe fiant sacerdotes, et sint viri docti eruditi et literati præcipue in grammatica necnon artibus graduati, et continuam personalem residentiam faciant in dicto burgo de Craill, ac ibidem indies et continue cum summa diligentia docebunt et regent scolam grammaticalem docebuntque pueros lras latinas et non vulgares informando eos bonos honestosque mores.*” “*Volo et ordino q^d Mgr. Jo. sacerdos et sui succ^s sacerdotes non sint aleatores cartarii potatores nec nocturni vigiles, nec habebunt focariam seu publicam concubinam,*” &c. “*Jus vero patronatus et admissio ejusdem capellaniæ et servitii mihi spectabit durante vita mea—post meum decessum honorabilibus et discretis viris, ballivis ac burgensibus burgi Craille, eorumque successoribus.*” It is signed “apud Craill, 5 Oct. 1542, coram discretis viris And. Rychartsone, Jo. Bisset, Tho. Bell, Magistris Alex^{ro} Curro^r vicario pensionario de Craille et Thoma Cummyngham n. p. Dns David Bowman fundator scolæ grammaticalis Crail manu propria ad hac.”

In 1541, the prebendaries or chorists of the College Church of Crail were “Mr Alex^r Curro^r, Dni David Bowman, Edward Annand, Jo. Brown, Dav. Game, Tho. Bowman, Will. Abyrerummy, And. Keryntown, Tho. Clerk, Jac. Corstorphyne, Wil. Congyltoun, Will. Jhonson.”

On the 10th of June 1560, Mr John Bowman, “master of the grammar school for the tyme, sett in feu-firme and heretage to John Ramsay and his airis, a tenement in the north side of the mercat gaet, with ane laiche buith upon the eist of the foryett of

the said tenement, togedder with the haille lands, houses, yairds, and biggingis, lyand within the borrow rudeis of the said burgh, in ane place yrof, callit the eist grene, having the eist burn of the said bur^t at the west, and the comoun eist loan at the eist, for payment of ane yearlie feu-mail of ten merkis money, to Mr John Bowman, and his successors, masters of the grammar school." (See Charter of Kirk Lands, Register House.) The feu-duty continued to be paid to his successors, as appears from a decreet of the burgh court of Crail, in favour of Mr David Maxwell, master of the grammar school in 1590.

From the acts and proceedings of the town-council of the burgh, it appears that, from the year 1566, if not earlier, to the year 1583, Mr John Buthil was master of the grammar school of Crail, and enjoyed, as part of his provision, the rents of some of the lands which formerly belonged to the prebendaries of the College Kirk of Crail (in an entry, May 1, 1566, he is designed "burgess of the burght of Crail, and scuill maister yairof"); that on the 29th of January 1584-5, David Maxwell became master of the grammar school of the burgh, having been "lawfully admitted thereto by the baillie, counsell, and communitie of the samyns," and on the 23d of October 1585, "chaplain of the chaplainrie and foundation of St James, in the college kirk of Crail," also, on the 20th of June 1586, prebendar and possessor of the foundation and chaplainrie of the halie croce" (Burgh Records, 27th Oct. 1590); that it was considered the right of the magistrates and town-council of Crail to restrain all other persons from teaching within the burgh, except the grammar schoolmaster appointed by themselves; that the benefit of the school was not confined to burgesses and inhabitants of the town, but was extended to the children of other persons in the parish and neighbourhood; and that it was not conceived to be the only duty of the schoolmaster to teach grammar, but all the ordinary branches of education, being "lawfully provydit . . . to leirne and instruct the youth and bairnes wⁱⁿ the said bur^t, &c., not only in grammar, but also in vulgar language, and wrytyng, and readyng of the samyn."

The following are some of the most material entries in the Burgh Records:—

1566-7, Feb. 25 (an obligation inserted by T. Kinnear, minister, and afterwards deleted). "I, Thomas Kymceir, min^r of Crail,

binds and obliſes me—yt notwtſtanding I am frely choſing and electit min^r of Craill be ye conſent of ye ſuperintendent, not ye les I bind me to tak ye ſcoill in teiching, provyding firſt, that I preache but anis in ye ouk, nixt yat Meifter Jhone Buthaill be ſateſfiet, and willingly remowet yrfra ; 3dly, that I may have ane honeſt ſtipend as was offerit, &c. (*Delet. cum conſenſu partium tam urbis quam miniſtri per me Jo. Ramsay, ſcribam dicta burgi*)."

1567, Nov. 25. "Mr Jhon Buthill . . . complanit upon Sir George Kinge, yt ye ſaid Sr George hes ſeducit ye barnis and ſcoulers from ye ſaid Mr Jhone, and teaching ym as ye ſaid Sir Georgis pleaſit in maner of ane ſcoull, notwtſtanding ye ſaid Mr Jhone ry^t and titill y^t he hes in teiching of ye gramer ſcoll Ye bailzies and counſall decernis y^t ye ſaid Sir George nor na uyeris in tyme cuming ſall teich ony ſcoul by ye ſaid Mr Jhone grammer ſcoull, qlk ye ſd Mr Jhone inſtantly teaches."

1568, Oct. 12. "The prebendary callit St Nicolas preb. to be given to ane qualifiet man to reid ye prayers, and be doctour of ye grammar ſcoull—(formerly pertenit to Sir Tho^s. Skyrling). . . . Mr Patrik Mortoun, provest of ye college kirk of Craill, proteſtit for himſelf and the prebendarii, it be not prejudiciall to him of ye donatioun of ye preb. of umqll Sir Tho. Skyrling's benefice."

1571, Sep. 1. "Mr John Bennet, choſen ſchoolm^r for a year bound to inſtruct the bairns ſufficiently, as becomes ane Mr of ane grammar ſchool, in honeſt learning and maneris—to be paid 8s. yearly for ilk bairn w^{tin} burgh, and for bairns w^{out} ye burgh at his pleaſure."

1571, Nov. 14. "John Heryſſ to be ſchoolm^r for a year to teach grammer (as becomes ane guid Mr) and honeſt manners, ... Salary 50 merks."

1571, Dec. 11. "John Gybe to be doctor in ye ſcuill, to have his meat and daily ſuſtentation of the bairns of ye ſchool, and 12d. yearly for ye teaching of ilk bairn, as uſe is."

1571, March 18. "J. Heryſſ, ſchoolm^r, to get the preb. of the rude formerly poſſeſſed by umqll Sir Edward Ammand, prebendar, ... and to exoner the baillies and counſell of 20 merks yearly for ane pt of his fee, qlk is 50 mks."

(Immediately afterwards he feued part of the lands of the prebendary.)

March 25. "J. Heryſſ, as preb. of the halyrud and St John Bap-

tist, discharged the baillies of the sowme of 50 merks, promised to him yearly as his salary."^a

1576, Dec. 4. "J. Hereis, sumtyme Mr of the grammar school, renounceis in favour of Mr John Buthil, now Mr of the said school."

1577, March 19. "J. Buthill, Mr of the grammar school. Several persons decerned to pay him certain sums as prebendar of the halyrud."

1579, Dec. 8. "Mr Jhone Buthill, Mr of the grammar school . . complained that Mr Jhone Edmystone has persuadit and seducit certain of ye bairnes, and not onlie ye said minister intends to continue in teaching of them, and yrby to erect another grammar school, expres against the acts of this bur^t, and the said Mr Jhone Buthell's gift of ye said seule, bering yt nane sould teiche wⁱⁿ ye said bur^t except ye said Mr Jhone," &c.

1580, June 9. "Mr J. Buthill, Mr of ye grammar school, complainit upon Mr John Edmestoun, min^r of ye sd bur^t, yet ye sd min^r has persuadit and seducit ye barnis beyng w^t ye said Mr Jhone, and teiches ym, yrby intending to erect ane new seule, and ye said min^r and his pretendit scolars hes not onlie menassit ye said Mr Jhone, but also hes struken and inwadit syndrie of yame, to ye great effusion of yr bluide."

1580-1, Feb. 18. "Mr Jo. Buthill, Mr of ye grammar seule, represents that he had been admitted schoolm^r w^t syndrie privileges, liberties, and fredomes, w^t ye disposition of certain prebendareis, maid to him for instructing and learning of ye bairnes and youth resorting thairto,—but John Edmestoun, min^r, hes seducit certain scolar^s and intends to erect another grammar seule ag^t ye sd Mr

^a [In the Accounts of the Common Good of Burghs in Scotland, preserved in the General Register House, there are various entries of payments for schools and schoolmasters. See Appendix to the "Acts relative to the Establishing of Schools in Scotland," printed in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, Part ii. The following are among the payments to Craill grammar school:—

1574. "Item, payit to the Maister of Schole, quhelk wes of auld payit to the chaiplane of the rude altar, . . . xl s.
"Item, payit for the Maister of the Sicols hous mail, . . . vj lib. xvjs.

1576. Same as in 1574, with this addition:—"Item, of the sowmen of viij lib. gevin to ane messoun for bigging of the Scoll, ... viij lib.

1579, 1581, 1582. "Item, payit to the Seule Maister, prebendar of the Halie rude service, ... iiij lib.

1583, 1584. "Item, of the sowme of four poundis payit to the seule Maister of the s^d burgh, ... iiij lib.

1622. "To the Maister of the Skoill, iiij^{xx} [3 score] lib. xij s. iiij d.

1628. "To the Master of the School, j^e lib."]

Johne, his gift and provision.....and Johne Edmestoun's scholars, by casting of staines w'in ye said seuale, and be dynging off the barnes and scolars repairing yrto has trublet and impedit ye said Mr Johne, &c. The counsel renew the gift to Mr Jo. Buthill, that he may remain Mr yrof in tyme cuming, after the expiring of his former gift."

1580-1, March 16. "Mr J. Buthill, prebendar of ye haly rude service, and of ye 2^d prebendary of our Lady's altar."

1581, June 8. "Mr Jo. Buthill, preb. of ye 1st preb. of our ladie's altar, demittit the same, and it was disposit to Patrick Ramsay, sonlawful to Jo. Ramsay, messenger, burgess of ye s^d burgh."

1582, May 29. "Mr Jo. Buthill, Mr of ye gr. seuale to learne and instruct ye youth and barnes w'in ye sd bur^t, and uthers repairing yrto, not onlie in grammar, but also in vulgar language, and wryting, and reading of ye samyn, and all other persons inhibitit and dischargit to use ony teaching w'in ye said burt, and Sir George King was specially discharged, &c. (see 1567, Nov. 25), not ye les ye sd Sir George hes laitlie seducit certane bairnes and scolars being instructit be ye sd Mr Jhone of befoir, respecting rather thair awin libertie in playing nor to be instructit sufficientlie in guid letteris and maneris to remain w^t ye said Sir George, quha, under the pretence of singing, teaches you to read and write in vulgar language, in hurt and prejudice of ye sd Mr Jhone's gift," &c.

1582, Apr. 8. "Mr Jo. Buthill, scuilm^r and preb. of ye halie rude service."

1590, Oct. 27. "David Maxwell, Mr of ye gram. seuale since 29 Jan. 1584.....chaplain of ye foundation of St James since 24 Oct. 1585, prebendar of the foundation and chaplenrie of the halie croce since 20 June 1586." ^a

^a "1593, 12. March. Caus persewit be David Maxwell, Scuilmaster in Craill, ag^t Agnes Scott, &c., makand mention y^t upon ye 27 Ap. 1592, ye prov. bailzeis and counsall of ye bruch for yame self, and in name of ye commonitie yrof indoutit patrones of ye prebendar of St Michael, sumtyme situat w'in ye s^d bruch, and als w^t consent of W^m Carstorphan, last prebendar, demitting his rycht in favour of ye sadis patrones, quha diligentlie understanding ye airnest cair and travell taine be ye s^d complenar in reiding at ye s^d kirk, and teaching ye said grammar sewill unrecompensit yrfor, yai as patrones fors^d gef, grantid and disposit, to ye s^d complenarall and haill ye forsaid prebendarie of St Michael, w^t all frutis, &c. for his stipend during ye haill space, y^t ye complenar suld continew reidar at ye s^d kirk, and teatcher of ye said scwill."—*Act Buik of the Commissariat of St Andrews.*

The Records of the Kirk Session of Crail, 1648, begin with the following entry, in the handwriting of James Sharp, afterwards archbishop of St Andrews:—

“1648, 15 Aprilis. The whilk daye the minister and elderis being convened in session, did appoint and constitute Mr William Haggie master of the grammar [school], clarke *pro tempore* to the session, with this condition and provision, that if his exercising of the office of clarkship should be found to prove anywise prejudicial to his attendance upon the charge of the school, or occasion any hindrance, distraction, or avocation in his diligent care and inspection over the said schole, that then and in that case the session declaires they will take such course for the constant filling up the said office of the clarkship in the person of one to be nominated by them as they shall think most fitting for the tyme, and conduceable for the better service of the session, without prejudicing the attendance upon the schole.

“M. JA. SHARP, Minister.”

No. V.—(Vol. I., p. 87.)

JOHN WYNRAM.

There is some confusion of dates in the matriculation book of St Leonard's College in the early part of the sixteenth century, but the following entry appears to be under the head of the Incorporations for the year 1513:—

“Johannes Wynrem nationis Laudoniæ.” (In 1516 there is also “Gilbertus Wynrem na. Laudoniæ.”)

In the book of the Faculty of Arts, under date March 17, 1515, are the following Bachelors of Arts:—

“Nomina determinantium Anno Dom. 1515.

Primus aetus in Collegio Stⁱ Leonardi.

Will ^{mus} Hunter,	}	. . pauperes.
Tho. Brydy,		
Tho. Fyf,		
Rob ^{tus} Coldan,		
Johannes Bruyss,		
Rob. Sluchtman,		

2^{dus} Actus in Collegio Stⁱ Leonardi.

Dominus Ninianus Bard,	}	. . . pauperes.
Jo. Zoul,		
Jo. Douglass,		
Jo. Wynram,		
Jo. Dunkanson,		
Alex ^r . Alan,		

3^{tius} Actus in Coll. Stⁱ Leonardi.

Patricius Gaw,	}	. . . pauperes.
Tho. Trayl,		

1^{mus} Actus in pædagogio (St Mary's College).

Jo. Henderson,		dives.
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1^{mus} Actus in Coll. Stⁱ Salvatoris.

Willelmus Garn,		dives.
Alex. Gourlay,	}	. . . pauperes.
Duncanus Irland,		

2^{dus} Actus in Coll. S. Salvatoris.

Da. Abircrummy,		dives.
Geor. Sydserwe,		dives.
Da. Ruderfurd,		dives.
Malcolmus Baxter,		pauper.

After the year 1515 no trace of John Wynram appears in any of the University books till 1532, when he is mentioned as one of the rector's assessors, and he is then designed *Dñum Johannem Winrem canonicum ac baccalarium in Theologia*. In an instrument of sasine, dated May 17, 1532, he and Thomas Cuninghame are designed *discretis et honestis viris canonicis regularibus monasterii Sancti Andreæ*. In 1534, being one of the four intrants or electors of the rector, he is designed *Dominus Joannes Wynrame tertius prior*. This year and 1535 he was also one of the rector's deputies. In 1536 he was one of the assessors of the rector, and was then designed *Dom Jo. Wynrame, subprior*. In 1537 he is named in the three capacities of an elector, an assessor, and a depute of the rector, and is designed *Dñ's Jo. Wynrame, subprior, ecclesie metropolitane Sanctandr*. In 1539 he is called *Subprior monasterii Sancti Andreæ*; in 1540, *Jo. Wynrame*,

Doctor theologus, cænobii Sanctiandr. Subprior; in 1544, *Subprior conventus Sanctiandreæ*; in 1545, *Divi Andreæ Cænobii Subprior*; in 1550, *Sacri conventus Andreani Subprior*; in 1551, *Vicarius de Dow ac Subprior Cænobii Sancti Andr.*; in another page, *Subprior Monasterii Sancti Andr.*; in a presentation of a chaplainry in favour of Andrew Archibald, May 25, 1554, he is thus designed, *Dom. Joannes Vynrame sacr. litt. P. rector de Dowll sive potius Ecclesiæ parochialis ejusdem vicarius perpetuus, monasteriique Sancti Andreæ Subprior*. In 1556, as one of the assessors, he is designed, *Magister noster Johannes Wynram augustissimi cænobii Andreani Subprior*. In 1561, as one of the visitors of St Salvator's College, he is designed, *Jo. Wynram sacrarum literarum doctor et superintendens Fifie*. He is so named till 1572, when he is called *Superintendens de Stratharne*. In 1574, he is again called *Superintendens de Fifa*; in 1575, *Superintendens Fife et Subprior Cænobii Sancti Andreæ*; in 1575 and 1578, *Prior de Kirknese*; in 1580, *Prior de Portmoak*; in 1581–2 (Cal. Martii), *prior Insulæ Sylvanæ*.

The above notes, except one, are all taken from one book. In another book, from 1562 to 1569, he is generally called *Superintendens Fife*; in 1570, *Æconomus prioratus*; in 1572, *Superintendens de Fyff*; from 1576 to Sept. 1582, *Prior de Portmoak*. In another book he thus subscribes his name in 1578, *M. Jo. Wynram prior insulæ sancti servani intra lacum de Levin*.

Various acts of visitation of the College of St Leonard's, "per Dominum Joannem Wynram Subpriorem Monasterii, S. A. Sacrarum Literarum professorum eximium, Dom. Davidem Guthrie tertium priorem," &c., are still extant. One is dated 12th November 1544, another 13th November 1545; a third 19th November 1550.

The regulations prescribed are generally very curious. In 1550 the disuse of the Latin tongue is complained of, and required to be corrected as follows: "Item luce clarius compertum est in ipso collegio inolevisse desuetudinem linguæ Latinæ, in non modicum contemptum statutorum loci, quibus districte inhibetur, ne quis collegialiter conversantium utatur lingua vernacula præter coquum et ejus parvulum. Mandant igitur præfati venerandi Domini Visitatores, ne quis de cetero in hoc collegio Leonardino collegialiter conversantium utatur idiomate vulgari sed studeant singuli honeste

et Latine loqui potissimum in tabula. Si qui vero studentium fecerint secus, per magistrum loci principalem seu per proprium ipsius regentem virgis ut supra coerceatur. Si autem aliqui ex regentibus, capellanis, aut aliunde collegialiter viventibus id fecerint, per magistrum principalem muleta pecuniaria refrenentur."

Another Statute is, "Item locetur curatus in camera juxta portam anteriorem ut audire possit parochianos clamantes pro administratione Sacramentorum." The curate (Mr John Fife) is very peremptorily required to be duly prepared before Easter to sing the vespers and masses. There are other regulations about altars, copes, surplices, &c., which do not indicate any great desire on the part of Mr John Wynram and his coadjutors to relinquish the most useless observances of the Church of Rome.

He was a member of the commission appointed in June 1563, to inquire into the state of the University of St Andrews. (Acts Parl. Scot. ii., 544; Irving's *Life of Buchanan*, second edit., p. 177.) The only paper of that date which I recollect at present contains a number of Acts of Visitation of St Salvator's College, 15th Sept. 1563, subscribed by John Douglas, rector (afterwards archbishop), John Wynram, Robert Hamilton, William Skeyn, and John Lamont. Several of the regulations prescribed by these visitors are curious; *e.g.* as the poor students complained of the spare diet, especially on fish days, when each of them had only one egg and one herring, the principal was ordered to augment the quantity of victuals, and to take care that neither in quantity nor quality should the portions be inferior to those of the poor students in other colleges.

In 1578 another commission was appointed for visiting the Universities of St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Glasgow. (Acts Parl. Scot. iii., 98). Nothing was done by this commission till the General Assembly urged the inquiry, especially in reference to the state of the University of St Andrews. His Majesty, with advice of the Lords of Privy Council, "Ordanit and commandit the masteris of the said Vniuersite to be at Edinburgh at ane certain day, w^t the fundations of thair collegis, to be sene and considerit be ony sex, five, or foure sic noble, reuerend and circumspect personis as his Maiestie w^t auise of his said counsall had chosine." Their report (signed, Levinax, R. Dumfermling, G. Buchannane,

James Halyburtoun, P. Young,) is inserted in the act of "Ratification of the reformatioun of the Vniuersite of St Androis," by the Parliament of 1579. Robert, Earl of Lennox; Andrew, Earl of Rothes; Patrick, Archbishop of St Andrews; Patrick, Lord Lindsay of the Byres; Robert, Commendator of Dumfermling; John Erskine of Dun; John Wyuram, Prior of Portmoak; and James Halyburton, Provost of Dundee, were appointed Commissioners "in execution of the said reformation." (*Ibid*, iii. 178, 182.) See also, "Act in fauouris of the Vniuersitie of Sanctandr." (*Ibid*., iv. 442-3.)

Wynram's name occurs very frequently in the books of the Commissary Court. He had married the Lady of Kinnaldie in Fife, and her son and grandsons by a former marriage, of the name of Aytoun, brought many an action against him, on the ground that he had attempted to defraud them of their patrimony. One or two extracts may be given, to show the nature of the charge which I suspect the Aytouns had too good ground for making:—"1574, May 1. The qlk day being dewlie summoned, the executors, testamentors, if ony be, and intrmitters with the guds and geir of umq^{ll} Margaret Stewart, sum tyme spous of Maister Jhon Winrame, Superintendent of Stratherne, &c., comperit Mr Jo. Winrame, relict of the said umq^{ll} Marg^t Stewart, qua allegit him and Mr Andrew Aiton, her son, nominat executores-testamentars, to quhom the juge statut preif the said allegiance this day twenty-one days."—"May 22, the q^{lk} day anent the term appointit to Mrs Jhon Wynraham and And. Aitoun, to preif yame nominat exec^{rs} be umq^{ll} Margaret Stewart, lady of Kinawdy, comperit Mr Andrew Aitoun, quha renuncit the nomination of exec^{rs}, if ony wes maid be the said umq^{ll} Marg^t his moder in his favor, and the office of exec^r, so far as may follow yrapon, *re integra*, protestand he be decernit dative as ncerest of kin to his said moder in case Mr Jhon preif not the nominatioun," &c.—"1576, May 4. Cause by James and Robert Aittounis and Mr Andrew Aittoun of Kinnawdy, thair fader, ag^t Mr Jhone Winrame, superintend^t of Fife." They claim "32 bolls aitis, w^t ye foder at 40s per boll, in the barn and barnyard of Kirkness, at the time of the decease of Lady Kinnawdy (March 1573); also a pair of bracelets of gold, estimat at 20 lib; also a cross of gold hung with a small chain, 16 lib; also 4 rings of gold, price of the picee our heid,

thrie lib ; also 115 lib. money, &c. The jugs decernit Mr Johne Winrame to be absolvit simpliciter, because the persewars falzeit in preving," &c. (Act Buik of the Commissariat of St Andrews.)

Wodrow says it is probable he died about the year 1577. A decret of the Lords of Session (24th Nov. 1582), preserved among the papers of St Leonard's College, mentions that "the said Mr John departit this mortal life upon the 18th of Sept. last." (It is the 28th September in the Register of Testaments, Edinburgh.) He is mentioned in the Records of St Leonard's College on the 14th of September 1582, as having been one of the *auditores computi*.

No. VI.—(Vol. I., page 101.)

ADDITIONS TO LORD HAILES' LIFE OF JOHN HAMILTON, a Secular Priest.

Lord Hailes has stated, that "of the early part of the life of John Hamilton there are no accounts ;" and according to his Lordship's account, he began to be known in 1573, when, "having fixed his residence at Paris, he appears to have applied himself to theological studies."

It is ascertained from the records of the University of St Andrews, that in the year 1552 John Hamilton and Archibald Hamilton, both of whom were afterwards distinguished as writers against the reformers of the Church of Scotland, were matriculated as students in St Mary's College, a seminary which had long existed, but which had, in the course of that year, received from Archbishop Hamilton a new foundation, with a greater establishment of professors than any of the other colleges in Scotland. Of the fifteen students who entered St Mary's in 1552, five were of the name of Hamilton—Robertus Hamilton, *major*;^a Robertus

^a Robert Hamilton of Orbiston, Robert Preston, and Robert Hamilton of Preston, are all mentioned in some of the registers in 1557.

Hamilton, *medius*; and Robertus Hamilton, *minor*; and the list is closed with the names of *John* and *Archibald*. The other students incorporated that year were Hugh, Earl of Eglinton; Wm. Montgomery, his brother; Lord Wm. Douglas, younger of Drumlanrig; Sir Robert Cunyngham, minister of Failfuir; Sir Malcolm Stevenson (these two were ecclesiastics, capable at that time of holding bursaries in theology); Hugh Douglas of Bonyewind; William Douglas (his brother); James Mailvell, George Swyntone, and Thomas Dykson. Many persons, afterwards highly distinguished for their learning, or for the part which they acted in public life, were at that time students at St Andrews; such as Sir Thomas Craig, Alexander Arbuthnot (afterwards Principal of King's College, Aberdeen), John Rutherford, &c. Edmund Hay, the Jesuit, well known as the associate of John Hamilton in 1601, had been matriculated in St Salvator's College in 1550. Hay became a regent in St Salvator's College in 1554 or 1555, and was one of the examiners for the candidates for the degree of Master of Arts at that period. John Hamilton, who appears to have been transferred to St Salvator's, took the degree of Master in 1555.^a

Lord Hailes is mistaken in saying that he fixed his residence in Paris in 1573. He was a regent in St Mary's College till 1575, having been appointed to that office in 1569.

In the list of assessors of the rector in 1570, he is described as being of the *Lothian nation*. In 1571 he is designed thus, *ex Laudonia*, Joannes Hammyltoun, præceptor philosophiæ in Collegio Novo. In 1572, as one of the assessores ex Laudonia, he is designed *regens Novi Collegii*. In 1573, he and George Gillaspie are designed *Collegii Mariani philosophiæ præceptores*. In 1574,

^a There may, however, be some doubt with regard to the identity of this John Hamilton, and him who matriculated in 1552. The following persons of the same name matriculated a few years after 1552—Jo. Hamilton, provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, in 1554. (This could not be the John Hamilton whose life is written by Lord Hailes.) Another John Hamilton in 1555—another in 1556—another in 1557—and

another in 1561. All these were of St Mary's College. There were others of the same name in St Salvator's College. It may be worth while noticing here that the same man had sometimes two sons of the same name. Thus, in the Commissary Records of St Andrews, about 1549-50: "Jo^{es} Wood, *senior*, and Jo^{es} Wood, *junior*, filii mei; Jo. Jameson, *senior*, and Jo. Jameson, *junior*, filii mei."

he and James Wilkie, and George Gillaspie, are designed *assessores ex Laudonia*. After this period his name does not appear in the rector's book. But in April 1575, the collation of Alex. Hamilton to the office of bachelor in the New College, is addressed to James Wilkie, Principal of St Leonard's College, John Hamilton and James Bryson, regents of St Mary's College. About three months before (Jan. 17, 1574-5), he had been one of the witnesses of the presentation of Archibald Hamilton to the office of licentiate or second master. On the 20th of Oct. 1574, the kirk-session record of St Andrews informs us that "Mr Johne Hamilton, regent in the New College, was elected one of the elders." The following is one of the notices of him in that year :—

"The aucht day of Februar the zeir of God

"Jay v^e threscoir nyne zeirs.

"The quhilk day anent the complaint of Jhone Lindesay and Mr Jhone Hammyltoun maid *hinc inde* be aither of thame to ws prowest and m^{rs} of ye New College, tueichinge ye querell and pley that fell betwix thame in the tabill in ye supper ye sewint of Februar instand, bay^t ye saides parteis being hard bews sewerallie, and witnes be aither of thame producit, admittit, sworne and examinat, and thair depositioun ryplye be ws considerit; We, prowest and m^{rs} of ye said college all in ane voice findis that Mr Jhone Hamyltoun in divers respects offendit ws his superiors, and als the rest of ye m^{rs} and regentis his colleigis, and als thairby was ane sclander to ye haill disciplis that was in ye hall, and in speciall offendit to Jhone Lindesay, in calling him first knaw, and drawinge ane qubingar in o^r hall, and cumming to knyfis w^t him, quhair he aucht not be ony way to haf falline in onie contentioun w^t ane disciple, nor zit talkin except it had bein *in contentione literarum*. And thairfoir we ordor ye said Mr Jhone publiclie in or tabill befoir meit w^t haid discoverid to confess his offence, and failze maid to ws prowest and m^{rs} of the said plaice to his colleiges and baill disciplines that war present, and especiallie to the said Jhone Lyndesay, quhome to be offendit maist in speciall as is abuf rehearsit, and thairfoir to ask ws all and als the said Jhone Lyndesay, in speciall forgifnes of his offence desyringe ye samyn to be remittit w^t promeis to abstein fra lyk doingis in tyme cumminge. And this beinge doin, we ordeine the said Jhone Lyndesay to accept him in

fawo^{rs}, and to remit ye offence maid to him lyk as we sall do for or pairt w^t promess to put ony offence maid to him fur^t of his memorie, and to leif yrefter in brotherlie lowe w^t ye said Mr Jhone, and to behaif him self to ws and him y^refter as becumis ane honest, godlie, and obedient disciple. And ye said Johne Lyndesay in lyk maner sall confess his offence maid to ws his superio^{rs}, in respect yt albeit he had sufferit be ane regent he suld not to haf reuengit his awin querell, but to haf deferit his complaint to ws. Sic subscribitur.

“MR JOHNNE DOUGLAS,

“Prowest of ye New College.

“MR ROBERT HAMYLTON.

“MR ARCHIBALD HAMYLTON.

“MR WM. SKEYNE.

“The rector w^t his assessors hawin consideritt yis former sentence beinge cum to yair cogni^oun be reasoun of reclamatioun yairfra be Johne Lyndesay, ordeins efter ye pluralitie of writts that ye said Mr Jhone Hammyltoun sall performe ye former sentence, and forder sall confes his fail and offence in makin mentioun of my lord regentes end *vide exitum*; and mairower sall delyuer his quhynger to ye rector wⁱⁿ ye scheitht, to be kepit be ye rector and his plesor becaus he drew ye samyn in ye rectors and m^{rs} presens. Sic subscribit.

“MR JOHNNE DOUGLAS, Rector.

“MR JHONE RUTHERFURD.

“MR WILLIAM RAMSAY.

“MR DAVID GUILD.

“And this was pronouncit ye sixteen day be ye rector and his assessors *ex pluralitate vocum*.”^a

John Hamilton's name is not found in any of the books after 1572.^β

^a In the following year Mr John Arthor, one of the regents, was expelled for attacking Mr James Hamilton with a drawn sword, after having thrown an egg at his face, and called him knave to provoke him to fight.

^β “The deputy of Champagne shall advise the Church of Paris to beware of

a certain Scot, going by the name of *Ottoman* or *Homon*, who would make a hodge-podge of both religions.”—*Synod of Saumur*, June 1596. (Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. p. 179.) Qu. Oman? Yeoman? Notman? Honyman? Hamilton? John Hamilton was then in Paris.

No. VII.—(Vol. I., pp. 164, 240.)

PROVISION FOR THE MINISTRY AFTER THE REFORMATION.

(*From an unfinished MS.*)

When the Protestant religion had gained the ascendancy, the leading Reformers framed a scheme of policy, which has since obtained the name of the "First Book of Discipline," in which they stated fully their views with respect to the mode of providing for the ministers, the schools, and the poor. From this document it is evident that, even before 1560, some of the nobility and gentry had usurped much of the property of the Church, and exacted the rents and tithes, with intolerable rigour, for their own purposes. The Reformers proposed that the teinds should be entirely devoted to the maintenance of the ministers, the poor, and the schools. They proposed also that all things "doted" to hospitals, and annual rents, both in burgh and lands, pertaining to the priests, chantries, collegiate churches, chaplainries, and friars of all orders, should be retained still for the use of the kirks in the towns and parishes where such endowments had been granted. They recommended that, for the support of the Universities and the Superintendents, the revenue of the temporality of bishops, deans, and chapters should be applied, and that merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, having nothing to do with the cultivation of the ground, should make some provision to support the need of the Church.

The proposal with regard to ministers in the country was that every one should have at least 40 bolls of meal and 26 bolls of malt, with money for buying all other necessities, to be modified according to the judgment of the Kirk, at the annual election of elders or deacons. The deacons were to be the collectors or treasurers, and to account annually to the session. The superintendents, who were to travel from place to place, were to have (according to the same scheme) 600 merks in money, with 18 chalders of grain.

It is well known that this scheme was generally ridiculed by the men of rank as a "*devout imagination*;" and though a few

approved, many, "perceiving that their worldly designs would be frustrated if it were carried into effect, grudged so much that the name of the Book of Discipline became odious to them." So says Knox [*Hist.* p. 256], who adds, that "none in the realm were more unmerciful to the poor ministers than were they that had the greatest rents of the kirks, which they had greedily gripped." "The nobles," says Robertson, "held fast the prey which they had seized" and "the Protestant clergy found it a more easy matter to kindle zeal than to extinguish avarice. The very men whom they had formerly swayed with absolute authority, were deaf to all their remonstrances when they applied for a moderate provision." [*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 247, 275.] In 1561 a regulation was introduced by which the rents of the benefices were to be divided into three parts, two of which were to be retained by the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, and the remaining third to be given to sustain the Protestant ministers throughout the realm, and to support the Queen's Majesty to entertain and set forward the common affairs of the country. It was never pretended that the Protestant ministers were to expect more than one-third of this third, or a ninth of the whole valuation. In fact, this was not near a ninth part of the rents of Church property, for a very large proportion of it had been alienated before the Reformation by the clergy to their rich relatives. And the whole sum allowed for the maintenance of a National Church was about 24,000 pounds Scots, or 36,000 merks,—which, if all the parishes had been supplied with ministers, would not have yielded more than 36 merks to each, for it is known that there were more than 1000 parishes before the Reformation. One minister was, however, required to attend to a number of parishes, and 100 merks was the allowance which the generality of the ministers received,—a very few having had 300 merks granted to them. As a specimen of the fairness and equity of these allowances, it may be stated that the minister of Liberton had 150 merks. The valuation of the tithes of that parish in 1630 was 63 chalders, which at that period would have been worth 6300 merks; but the minister of the parish stated in 1788 that if they had continued entire, their real valuation then must have been ten times as much. ["Whyte's Account of Liberton," *Trans. Soc. Antiquaries*, vol. i. p. 359.]

Often did the Church complain to the Government of the extreme

poverty in which the ministers were kept; but fair words and liberal promises were all that they were able to obtain. "Great complaints were made," says Knox, "that kirks lacked ministers and that ministers lacked their stipends" [*Hist.* p. 323]; but "the Queen and Court made merry,—there was banqueting upon banqueting,—but the poor ministers were mocked; the guard and the affairs of the kitchen were so gripping that the ministers' stipends could not be had. The ministers perceiving all things tend to ruin, discharged their conscience in public and in private, but they received for their labour indignation and hatred. . . . They had to fight, on the one side, against the idolatry maintained by the Queen, and, on the other part, against the unthankfulness of such as sometimes would have been esteemed the chief pillars of the Church" [p. 346]. In at least twenty passages of Knox's *History*, it is stated that the distress and penury^a endured by the ministers were so extreme that they were like to decay and perish, and their work was greatly obstructed. The spoliation in these days was chiefly on the part of the nobles; and those who professed to be most zealous for the Protestant faith had no scruple in resuming and retaining what the piety of former generations had dedicated to the service of God and the Church before the Church of Scotland had submitted to the thralldom of the Church of Rome.

Soon after Knox's death, Mr James Melville, in his *Diary* [p. 23], complains of the introduction of the order of four kirks to one minister, made in 1574 by the Earl of Morton, then Regent; for writing against which course one of the professors of St Leonard's College was banished the country. The same writer states [p. 90] that in 1581, the Earl of March, as Prior of St Andrews, colluded with the rulers of the town to keep the ministry vacant, and in the meantime took up the stipend, and spent it with the rest of the Kirk rents of that priory, at "the golf, archery, and good cheer." In 1584 he enumerates many great abuses and corruptions,—such as that "the revenues of the Kirk, the bread of the ministry, schools, and poor, had been given to the greatest contemners, vexers, and oppressors thereof" [p. 128]. "By the

^a ["As for the ministers, their livings are so appointed that the most part sal live but a beggar's life." Supplication of the General Assembly, June 1562, to the Queen's Majesty.—*Knox*, p. 311. *Booke of the Univ. Kirk*, p. 24.]

insatiable sacrilegious avarice of earls, lords, and gentlemen, the ministers, schools, and poor were spoiled of that which should sustain them. The material kirks lay *like sheep and knout faulds* rather than places of Christian congregations to assemble in. The parishioners will have a couple of scores of herds for their cattle, but scarce a pastor to feed three thousand of their families, whereof come fearful darkness of ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, with innumerable filthy and execrable sins" [*Diary*, p. 129]. He points out many of the dishonest artifices of the dilapidations of benefices, such as this: In case 100 years since the labourers had paid 40 pennies money for the boll, they do not consider it diminution of the rental if they set victual rents in feu or long tack for 40 pennies the boll,—“albeit the truth be that 40 pennies money now is diminished in value *sax-fauld* from that it was a hunder year syne,—yea, that 40 pennies now grows towards 40 shillings.” He adds that judges, lawyers, lords, and all were infected with the same sickness, “sa that the remead falls amang impossibilities, like the hieland or border theft.” Every one who knows what was then the character of the courts of law must here recognise a picture which is not overcharged.

In terms equally strong are the spoliation of the nobles and gentry, and the connivance of the Government, denounced in the sermons of David Ferguson and of Robert Pont, the former published in 1571, and the latter in 1599,—both at the desire of the Church. Ferguson describes the kirks as being in such a mean and ruinous condition, that “if I had been brought up in Germany, or any other country where Christ is truly preached, and all things done decently and in order, according to God’s Word, and had heard of that purity of religion that is among you, and for the love thereof had taken travel to visit this land, and then suld have seen the foul deformity and desolation of your kirks and temples, which are more like to sheep-cotes than the houses of God, I could not have judged that there had been any fear of God or right religion in the maist part of this realm.” The sermon was addressed to the Regent and nobility, whom he exhorts to pity the Church, and to restore the things that unjustly they spoiled it of, “lest the Lord require at your hands the blood of them that perish in default of the right dispensation of thir

things." "As for the teinds and rents of the Kirk," he adds, "the alms of the poor, and sic things as we are bound to bestow upon the maintenance of God's honour and right religion, though we be prodigal in other things, yet in them are we negligent, cold, fraudulent, gredie, and nigard. For as sometime kings, princes, lords, and other potent men enriched the Kirk, so now, by the contrair, all their travail is to satiate their greediness with the spoil thereof."^a

In the same manner, Pont, in the first of his Three Sermons against Sacrilege, has said that "for all the crying out and preaching of the faithful messengers of God, with threatenings used against such persons, yet they cease not, but add daily more and more, as well they of the nobility as others following their ensample, to rob, spoil, buy, conquest, and occupy the kirk-rents." "Many stop and hinder the propagation of the Gospel of Christ; in so far that they hold him a man of no account, having any power in these corrupted days, who hath polluted his hands with some spoil of the Kirk goods."

"At the first reformation, sundry men of name and reputation joined with the congregation of the Reformers, not so much for zeal of religion, as to reap some earthly commodity, and to be enriched by spoil of the kirks and abbey places. But all this was of small account in respect of that which after hath followed, and daily falleth out in this unruly commonwealth. For from the year of our Lord 1560 unto this present time, the greatest study of all men of power of this land has been, by all kind of inventions, to spoil the Kirk of Christ of her patrimonie, by chopping and changing, diminishing of rentals, converting of victual in small sums of money, setting of feus within the avail, long tacks upon tacks, with two or three liferents, with many twenty years in one tack, annexations, erections of Kirk rents in temporal livings and heritage pensions, simple donations, erecting of new

^a [In 1563, in his Answer to Renat Benedict, he thus describes the straits to which he and the other ministers had been exposed for a considerable time: "The *greater number* of us (at that time the number was still very small) have lived in great penury, without all stipend, some twelve months, some eight,

and some half-a-year, having nothing in the meantime to sustain ourselves and our families but that which we have borrowed of charitable persons, until God send it to us to repay them."—(*Letter to Lord Provost on Annuity Tax.*)]

patronages, union of teinds, making of new abbates, commendators, priors, with other papistical titles, which ought to have no place in a Reformed Kirk and country, with an infinitie of other corrupt and fraudulent ways, to the detriment and hurt of the Kirk, the schools, and the poor, without any stay or gaine-calling, till all the revenues of the Kirk are so wracked that the posteritie may look for a plain decay of religion, which cannot stand unless it be holden up by preaching, and preaching cannot be had without provision, unless God, by some means, put to his merciful hand and remeid these evils. For this deceitful idol of avarice in spoiling the Kirk goods, hath so seized men's hearts that amongst us the means are already taken away, in many parts, whereby the ordinary ministry should be sustained. Yea, a great part of the realm lacks pastors and ministers."

In his second sermon, adverting to a scheme of providing otherwise for the Church than by the tithes, he expresses himself thus: "I will not deny but the teinds might be possibly changed in other means, by sufficient provision for the Kirk, if such godlie zeal were now amongst us, as of old time. But in so far as we see the plain contrarie, that men are now readier to take away than ever our predecessors were to give, it were a foolish thing to lose the certain for the uncertain, and that which is never likely to come to pass. And the wisdom of the fathers has done better in this behalf than anything that we can devise or perform." He spoke from experience, for after having been earnestly solicited to accept the charge of St Andrews, he laboured there a year, but was compelled to leave it, because he was never provided with a stipend. In another place, taking notice of the plea that Scotland was poor, and unable to spare much for the affairs of the Church, he exclaims, "Is it not a miserable thing, and unworthy to be heard tell of in any foreign country, that the Levites of Israel, 38,000 above twenty years of age, with their wives and children, and the whole poor of the land, were so liberally provided for, and entertained sufficiently; and now amongst us, albeit, it were but 600 ministers to serve the whole country of Scotland, sufficient lives cannot be provided for them? Yea, of those that are planted, a great number were left little better than begging, and some notable men left altogether destitute. O, miserable age, and unhappy days that we be fallen into! Shall not the Papists,

in their blind zeal, rise up in judgment against this unthankful generation, who sustained thousands in their kirks, abbacies, and cloisters, besides that which they dealt to the poor upon the Kirk rents: and now there be not so much left as to sustain a few ministers, colleges, and schools, albeit the poor should be utterly neglected." In another passage, he says that "there be more sacrilegious in Scotland (considering the quantity and revenues thereof) than in any other country that hath embraced the true light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The author of these sermons had been an eminent lawyer, and had been more than twelve years one of the Lords of Session, from which station he was removed by King James, because he could not be bent, like some of the others, from his integrity of purpose, on occasions when the king came to the court to dictate the decision.

Robert Rollock, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, in his sermons printed after his death, in 1599, ascribes the prevalence of ignorance and sin to the courses by which the numbers of the ministers were reduced, and their hands weakened, and with indignation gave utterance, with his almost expiring breath, to these memorable words: "Then, O miserable Scotland; here I denounce shame and ignominy shall come to thee, shame and confusion to king and court, land and burgh, if this candlestick be removed."

* * * * *

In comparison with most other places, Edinburgh was honourably distinguished for more than twenty years after the Reformation as having given rather a liberal support to the ministers, out of the funds which were at their disposal for that special purpose.

John Knox's stipend from the town was 400 merks, an amount which might at first sight appear, and has been sometimes represented, as a paltry allowance for a man who was at first the only minister of Edinburgh.^a

^a [John Knox, however, was not the only minister in Edinburgh even in 1560. It appears from the Council Records (vol. iii. f. 36), that John Cairns was authorised, on the 1st of June 1560, to receive 20l. for "furnishing of John Willok;" and again (f. 45), that on the 30th of August 1560 the Treasurer

was directed to "deliver to John Willok 20 crowns of the sone (or 40 merks), for recompensing of the great travel sustent be him *this haill year by gane*, in preaching and ministering the sacraments within this burgh." John Willock, one of the wisest, gentlest, and best of the Reformers, became Superintendent

Let us attend a little to this matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. Are 400 merks to be considered an inadequate stipend for a minister of Edinburgh at the time of the Reformation? I am not deeply read in the annals of the coinage, nor in any of the questions relating to the currency, or bullion, or exchanges. But as many other people may have attended to the subject still less, perhaps they may bear with a few shreds of the information which, if not profound, is at least tolerably exact, as far as it goes.^a

The pound sterling and the pound Scots are ascertained to have been equal in value till the middle of the fourteenth century, each being literally a pound of silver. In the reign of David Bruce, in 1366, the pound of silver was worth 25s. in both countries, but in 1373 the currency of Scotland was reduced to three-fourths of that of England, which still continued at 25s., whereas in Scotland it was 33s. 4d. Not to mention all the successive changes, the pound weight of silver at the beginning of the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, was coined into 9 l. 12s. ; the pound of silver in England being then coined into £3 : *i. e.* the pound of Scotland was about one-third of that of England. In her thirteenth year (1556), a pound weight of silver was equal to 13 lib. tale ; and, from 1555 to 1562, the pound tale in Scotland increased to 15 l. 15s., while in England it remained stationary at £3. So that about the time of the Reformation in Scotland one pound sterling was worth rather more than five pounds Scots, and by the year

of the West, and received as his salary 500 merks, with 24 bolls of wheat, 5 chalders bear, 60 bolls oats, and 3 chalders meal. That he had officiated a whole year before the end of August 1560, is a sufficient proof that John Knox was not the *only* minister that year. It is also worthy of notice that John Cairns received repeated payments in 1560 and 1561, on his own account, as an assistant to the minister, and particularly on the 25th September 1561. When the collectors of the taxes were ordered to pay him £60, in recompense of his services of "all times by-gane" to Michaelmas next, the collector of the annals appointed for the minis-

ters of the Kirk were required to refund the said £60 to the collectors of the taxes, and were ordered also "to pay in tyme coming to John Cairns 100 merks a-year out of the readiest of the annals." In April 1562, John Craig, minister, was solicited to undertake half the charge of preaching in Edinburgh.]

^a [Whoever wishes to look further into the matter, may consult Cardonnel's *Numismata*, Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, Snelling *On the Silver Coins of Scotland*, Harris *On Money and Coins*, Ruddiman's *Introduction to Anderson's Diplomata*, and Fleetwood's *Chronicon Pretiosum*.]

1565 the pound weight of silver (or £3 sterling in tale), was 18 l. Scots. By the year 1585, the pound of silver was worth about 24 l. Scots; in 1592 about 26 l.; and in 1601 about 36 l.; since which period there has been little change on the nominal value. The true value, therefore, of John Knox's stipend of 400 merks, or 266 l. 13s. 4d. Scots, in 1565 was at least £44, 8s. 10½d. English money, instead of £22, 4s. 5d., as stated by some late writers.

Still, many will think that £44, 8s. 10½d. sterling was a pitifully small sum. But there are two ways of determining its true value, or the estimate which would be formed of it by the people of that age. The one is by finding out how far such a sum would go in purchasing the necessaries of life, and the other by showing what proportion it bore to the incomes of men of other professions.

First, With regard to the prices of provisions, and other articles, in that age, there is no difficulty in obtaining correct information. It appears from the records of the Commissary Court of Edinburgh, that in 1550, the boll of oatmeal had been sold for 16s. Scots, and the boll of barley for 18s. Scots. The common price in Lothian and Fife in 1565 was 18s. Scots for the boll of oatmeal. In 1566 the boll of barley sold at about 25s., oatmeal 20s., and wheat 30s., all Scots money. In 1571 the boll of barley sold for 26s., oatmeal from 16s. to 20s., and wheat from 27s. to 36s. In the inventory annexed to John Knox's will, in 1572, oats is rated at 20s. Scots, bere at 26s. 8d., and wheat at 50s. per boll. Taking, therefore, the prices of barley and oatmeal in 1566, the one at 25s. and the other at 20s., the one would be worth 20 l. Scots per chalder, and the other 16 l. And, accordingly, 400 merks, or 266 l. 13s. 4d., converted into grain, would have yielded a stipend of about 15 chalders, which is above the average of benefices in Scotland. But it appears from the Book of Assumptions, as quoted by Keith, that a common valuation of meal and bere was 10s. Scots the boll, or 8 l. the chalder, at which rate 266 l. 13s. 4d., or 400 merks, would be the price of above 33 chalders. In 1573 the common valuation of meal was 20 merks per chalder, and at this rate 400 merks would have been the value of 20 chalders,—a stipend by no means inconsiderable.

But in those days the state of husbandry was so defective, that grain was dearer in proportion than other articles of living. By

the Act of Parliament 1551, the prices of many provisions were fixed: Bordeaux wine was sold for 16 l. Scots per tun, or about 4 pennies Scots for an English quart. In the same year, Malmsey wine was 4d. a quart in England.^a In 1559 a hogshead of claret is said to have been worth £2, 10s. in England, and it continued at the same price in 1562.^β It appears from the records of the Town Council, that in 1552 the carcass of the best sheep (*the best mutton bouk*), was sold for 10s. Scots, and in 1553 butter was sold for 8s. Scots the stone. It is stated in Keith's Appendix, that in 1572 a fed bullock was worth from 1 l. 6s. 8d. to 2 l. 13s. 4d. Scots; a sheep from 6s. to 9s. Scots; poultry, 4s. Scots per dozen; muirfowls, the same price; cheese, 6s. 8d. Scots per stone; geese, 1s. Scots a-piece.^γ Keith observes, that a pound Scots in 1570 had been seven times more valuable than it was when he wrote his History in 1734. At this rate, £44, 8s. 10³/₄d. sterling, or 400 merks Scots, in 1565 (when the Scottish money was more valuable than in 1570), must have been more than equivalent to £44, 8s. 10d., multiplied by seven, in 1734, or above £311 sterling. And if Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn be correct in his mode of computing the decrease of the value of money, it can scarcely admit of a doubt that £310 must have been of nearly as much value, in purchasing the necessaries of life in 1734, as double the sum in 1836. Sir George (says the author of *Caledonia*) has shown, by a very just and scientific appreciation, the value of money to have decreased in the proportion of 314 in 1750 to 531 in 1795, and to 562 in 1800.^δ Suppose, then, the value of money to have been nearly stationary, from 1734 to 1750, and assuming that £44, 8s. 10³/₄d. in 1570 was of as great value as £314 in 1750, its equivalent in 1800 would have been £562.

Secondly, Let us take another view of the matter, by consider-

^a By the Act 28 Henry VIII., c. 14 (1537), no person was to sell French wine above 8d. the gallon, or 1d. the pint.

^β Andrew's *Continuation of Henry's Hist.*, vol. ii p. 258. Fleetwood's *Chronicon Pretiosum*.

^γ It is curious that at this very time (in 1572), the price of a goose in England was 1s. sterling, the best poultry 8s. a-dozen, chickens 3s. a-dozen. In

1530, the following prices had been common in Ayrshire,—a cow 2 merks, an ox 30s., a sheep 5s., a lamb 1s. 4d., all Scots money. A boll of meal was then 12s. Scots, and a boll of oats 6s. Scots.—*Stat. Account* (Dailly), vol. x. p. 39. In 1571 the price of a sheep in Aberdeenshire was still 5s. Scots.—*Stat. Account*, vi. 472.

^δ *Philosoph. Transactions*, 1798. P. 1. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, ii. 24.

ing what were the incomes enjoyed by other professional men in that age.

The Court of Session was instituted in 1532; and the fifteen lords were entitled to 1423 l. 18s. Scots divided among them, the president having double the others, that is, 89 pounds Scots, or not quite 120 merks to each. It is said that the contributions were so badly paid that in 1549 the yearly salary of the judges amounted only to 40 pounds Scots (or £3, 6s. 8d. sterling, according to the standard of value.)^a In 1563 they received 1600 l. Scots yearly out of the quot silver. But even this addition would yield only 100 l. Scots, or 150 merks to each, over and above the former pittance. So that in 1563 a Lord of Session had a much smaller salary than John Knox.

In 1564 the Commissary Court of Edinburgh was instituted. Three of the four commissaries had 300 merks each; and Sir James Balfour, as the highest judge in that court, had 400 merks, which was not more than the salary of John Knox, who, moreover, was allowed either a house or a house-rent. In 1567 Sir James Balfour was made President of the Court of Session, and had a pension of 500 pounds Scots conferred on him.^β

The judges in England at this period were not very much better paid. In 1440 the Chief-Justice had £40 a-year, and the Attorney-General £10 a-year. In 1545 the Chief-Justice of the King's Bench had an addition of £30, and each of the other justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas had £20 added.^γ At the accession of Henry VIII., each Baron of Exchequer had £46, 13s. 4d; the Chief Baron, £100, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, £26, 13s. 4d.^δ The famous Roger Ascham, as Latin Secretary to Queen Mary of England, had a salary of £20. He had previously had a pension of £10 a-year from Henry VIII., to enable him to visit Italy. It was discontinued at the death of Henry, but restored when he was employed in 1548 as tutor to the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth. George Buchanan, twenty years after this, had only 10 pounds Scots, as Principal of St Leonard's College. He had, no doubt, also his accommodation and board;

^a Haig's *Account of the College of Justice*, p. xlvii.]

^β Tytler's *Life of Sir T. Craig*, p. 98.

^γ Fleetwood's *Chronicon Pretiosum*, London, 1745.

^δ Henry's *History*, vol. xii. In 1399 the Chief Baron had only 40 merks.

and he afterwards obtained a pension of 500*l.* Scots; but 10 pounds, or 15 merks, was his whole official salary.

The Reformers were anxious to give liberal provisions to men of learning. The First Book of Discipline, presented to the Government in 1560, proposed that every principal or professor of divinity should have 200 pounds, or 300 merks, and every professor of medicine or law 200 merks, or 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* At that time fees were not intended to be paid, except at matriculation and graduation, and the fee paid by an Earl's son, at his entry, was to be 3 merks, and at his graduation 3 merks, by a Lord's son, 30*s.* by a baron's son, 20*s.*, by a "*substantious gentleman's son*," 1 merk, by the son of a burgess, 10*s.*, and by every one of the rest, 5*s.* These sums are a sufficient index to the scale of expense in the universities of Scotland. About that very time the professor of Greek in King's College, Cambridge, had a salary of £40,^a and the King's professor of divinity in Oxford, according to the foundation by Henry VIII. in 1545, had £40 a-year.^β Till the year 1540 the Margaret Professor at Cambridge had only 20 merks English, or £13, 6*s.* 8*d.* By the new Charter of Erection granted to Glasgow College in 1577, the principal was allowed 200 merks salary. And by the Act of Parliament renewing the Foundations of the University of St Andrews, the principals of colleges were to have 100*l.* Scots each, with an allowance of 3 chalders of grain for their board. A regent or professor of philosophy was to have altogether for his fee and board 100 merks.^γ

Such was the state of other learned professions when John Knox had a stipend of 400 merks from the town of Edinburgh. He had another salary or pension, of about the same value with that of the superintendents. It consisted of 2 chalders wheat, 6 chalders bere, 4 chalders oats, and 500 merks in money. This salary, which he possessed from the year 1567 to the time of his death, in 1572, appears to have been conferred in consideration of the

^a Harwood's *Alumni Etonensis*, p. 39.

^β Wood's *History of the University of Oxford*, p. 433.

^γ One of these professors, Mr Robert Rollock, was elected by the Town-Council of Edinburgh in 1583, as the sole regent in their college, and the

salary which in their contract they engaged to pay him was 60 merks, with 3 merks a-year from every student, being the son of an inhabitant of Edinburgh, and 3*l.* Scots from others. As the average of attendance for a number of years was under 30, the amount could not exceed 120 merks.

services which he rendered to the Church at large. Knox, and his immediate successors, were also provided with house accommodation. In September 4, 1560, "The baillies and Council having considered that, for the ease of John Knox, minister, John Durie removed him furth of the lodging occupied by the Abbot of Dunfermling, to the effect the said minister might enter thereto, ordains Alexander Park, thesaurer, to pay to the said John Durie the sum of 8 merks, till the same shall be allowed; and also the said baillies and Council faithfully promise that how soon they may provide the said minister another lodging, to enter the said John to the possession thereof." Again, on December 14, 1560, it was agreed that his house-rent should afterwards be paid "at the rate of 15 merks a-year."^a

* * * * *

From the Register of Ministers' Stipends, preserved in the Register House, and printed in 1830, it appears that the stipend of 400 merks enjoyed by Knox was greatly beyond that of any minister out of Edinburgh. The minister of the West Kirk had 200 merks; the minister of Glasgow, 240 merks; the minister of Stirling, 300 merks; the minister of Haddington, 180 merks; the minister of Dundee, 200 merks; the minister of Dalkeith 180 merks; the minister of Kelso, 200 merks; the minister of Aberdeen, 300 merks; the minister of Elgin, 150 merks; the minister of Cupar, 120 merks; the minister of St Andrews, 300 merks; the minister of Perth, 300 merks. These last are the highest except Edinburgh; but the most part do not amount to one-half that sum, not a few being 40 merks or less. Dumfries had a stipend of 60 merks; Soutra and Fala, 45 merks; Ruglen, 60 merks; Ancrum, 60 merks.

^a This last quotation affords a tolerable criterion of the value of money at that time, unless it shall be supposed that John Knox lived in a mean house, and the former occupant may be regarded as an index to the style of house which was thought fitting for his condition. The abbot of Dunfermline was a lord of Parliament. George Durie, the last abbot, was an Extraordinary Lord of Session, a Lord of the Articles, a Privy Councillor, Keeper of the Privy

Seal, and the possessor of a large revenue, so that it is not likely that his house would be inferior in accommodation to those of persons of equal rank. It is somewhat remarkable, that when John Knox resided at St Andrews, his house was one that had been built for one of the Queens of Scotland. It had been inhabited by the Regent Moray, as commendator of the priory, and it afterwards became the archiepiscopal palace.

It may be said, indeed, that the ministers in the country had manses and glebes ; but, in fact, most of the glebe lands had been feued before the Reformation, or had fallen into hands more tenacious of spoil than apt to distribute with liberality ; and as to manses, the ministers found in many cases that they could not obtain them unless they could afford to build them at their own expense. * * * *

No. VIII., p. 196.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

(Extracted from the Author's Draft of the Report on the University of Glasgow for the University Commission of 1826.)

IN the year 1450, Nicolas V., a pope distinguished by his talents and erudition, and particularly by his munificent patronage of Grecian literature, after having composed the great Western schism, which for more than half a century had distracted the states of Christendom, was pleased to issue a papal edict or bull, establishing a *studium generale*, or University, in the city of Glasgow, the situation of which is described in the narrative as being, by the salubrity of the climate and the abundance of all the necessaries of life, peculiarly adapted for such an institution. The instrument bears that James II., then King of Scotland, had applied to the See of Rome for this grant,—for though an independent sovereign might claim the power of erecting universities within his own dominions, he could not confer on the licentiates and doctors, who derived their qualifications from such seminaries, the privilege of acting as teachers and regents in all the seats of general study throughout the bounds of the Catholic Church, without any examination or approbation, in addition to that which they received when they obtained their academical degrees. This faculty was bestowed by apostolical authority on the graduates of the University of Glasgow, along with all other liberties, immunities, and honours, enjoyed by the masters, doctors, and students

in the University of Bologna. The archbishops of Glasgow were to be chancellors, with the same authority over doctors, masters, and scholars, as was possessed by the heads of the University of Bologna, and particularly with the power of conferring degrees and licenses on candidates duly examined, according to the practice observed in other universities. The object of the institution is declared to be the extension of the Catholic faith, the promotion of virtue, and the cultivation of the understanding, by the study of theology, canon and civil law, the liberal arts, and every other lawful faculty. No mention is made of medicine, as in the original erection of the University of St Andrews,—but it is implied in the designation “*quavis alia licita facultate*.” The bull is silent with regard to other matters comprehended in the foundation of the University of St Andrews ; but it appears, from the concession of privileges by Bishops Turnbull and Muirhead, that these prelates conceived themselves to be invested with the power of supplying defects in the constitution of the university.

In a royal letter or charter of James II., dated April 20, 1453, the rectors, deans of faculties, procurators, regents, masters, and scholars are declared to be in all time coming under his Majesty's protection, and to be, along with the subordinate officers and servants, exempted from all taxes, watching and warding, and other burdens. These exemptions were confirmed by various successive monarchs, and by Acts of Parliament.

In the course of the same year Bishop Turnbull, with consent of the Chapter, granted various privileges to the university, substantially the same (though not so minutely described) as those which are enumerated in Bishop Wardlaw's grant to the University of St Andrews in 1411. Each of those prelates claiming a complete superiority and control over the civil magistrates, as well as over the clergy in his province, gave to the rector, doctors, masters, and other supports of the university, full power of buying and selling in the city and regality, all goods and necessities of life brought thither, not for the purposes of trade, but of private consumption, without exaction of custom, and without the necessity of asking leave from any local authorities. The assize of bread and ale, and the appraisement of all articles of food, were to be regulated by the laws and customs of burghs, and all offenders in these matters were to be reported to the provost or one of the

bailies, on whose neglect to redress the grievance, the complaint was to be transferred to the rector, and in the event of any disagreement between the rector and the civil magistrate, the determination of the case was to be submitted to the bishop. The rector was to have jurisdiction in all civil, pecuniary, and minor causes, and in all quarrels and disputes among the supposts of the university, and between any of the supposts and the citizens, or other inhabitants of the diocese ; but he was not to interfere in cases of atrocious injury or other weighty matters—all which were specially reserved for the decision of the bishop himself. All the supposts were to have the choice of bringing their cause either before the rector or the bishop or his official, and every one who thought himself aggrieved by a sentence of the rector might appeal to the bishop. All houses and lodgings for the supposts within the city were to be let at the arbitration of an equal number of supposts and citizens, sworn as umpires,^a and no one was to be disturbed in his possession so long as he paid his rent and conducted himself properly. Beneficed clergymen in the diocese, while acting as regents, or prosecuting their studies in the university, were not to be compelled to reside in their parishes, and were to draw all the fruits of their benefices, provided their cures were duly served during their absence. The privileges of the university were extended to the beadles, servants, writers, stationers, and their wives, children, and domestics. All were to be exempted from every description of tribute, imposition, or burden within the city. The provost, bailies, and other officers of the city, were annually, at their assumption of office, to swear before the chancellor or rector, or other members of the university, that they would observe, and to the utmost of their power enforce the observation of all the privileges and liberties granted and to be granted to the university.

In the year 1461, Bishop Muirhead confirmed and extended the powers of the rector in civil and criminal causes, authorising him to summon, censure, suspend, and excommunicate, and to exercise

^a On the same principle, about the year 1237, Gregory IX. established a regulation in the University of Paris, requiring the price of lodgings to be taxed by two Masters of the University,

and two Burgesses elected with consent of the Masters. *Vide Bulaei, Hist. Univ. Paris*, tom. iii. 160 ; Crevier, *Hist.* t. i. 359.

all other powers which by law or custom pertained to the bishop himself,—at the same time conceding to the defender in every action the right of answering before the court either of the rector, or of the official. The bishop further enjoined that in all sessions, processions, and other solemn acts, the rector should occupy the place next to himself, taking precedence of all other ecclesiastical dignitaries (*prelatos*) within the diocese.

In those times, none but a churchman was capable of holding the office of rector ; for no other could have been empowered to inflict ecclesiastical censures.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the royal letters, either confirming the general immunities of the university, or relieving the members from particular taxes. It is said, in the account of the University of Glasgow, ascribed to Dr Reid,^β that in the year 1633, the right of exemption from taxation was sustained by the Court of Session ; and the returns from the university refer to a later instance of the recognition of this right.

In none of the papal, royal, or episcopal letters of privilege, of a date prior to the Reformation, is there any distinct trace of the constitution of the university, and it can scarcely be said that any of these documents refers to the existence of a *College*, or to the possession of any property. It does not appear that it was the intention of the founder of the university that the members should live *collegialiter*, being maintained at a public table, and residing within the walls of a separate building. On the contrary, we find, in the regulation of Bishop Turnbull with regard to the mode of fixing the rents of houses by a jury, that he must have contemplated the probability of finding adequate accommodation in the town for all such members and students of the university as were

^α The foundation does not, indeed, as in the case of St Andrews, require that the rector should be in holy orders (*in sacris ordinibus constitutus*) ; but the introduction of such a clause was superfluous, for by the Canon Law no layman could exercise authority over an ecclesiastical corporation. Thus Baldus (*super Decretalibus*) says, “ Quæro, an rector scholarium debeat esse clericus? Responsum : Sic, ut habeat jurisdictionem in clericos : nam, ut dicit Inno-

centius, opus quod electus a clericis sit clericus. Si ergo est laicus, non possit cognoscere de causis scholarium clericorum,” &c., fol. 105. The practice which prevailed under the old constitution continued, with few deviations, for a long period after the Reformation ; and, indeed, till the year 1630, it appears to have been invariably followed.

^β *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xxi. p. 4.

not attached to the cathedral or to some of the monasteries. The University of Glasgow, however, was not singular in being at first unprovided with buildings of its own, and in being altogether unendowed, so as to be compelled to hold its meetings in the chapter-house of the Blackfriars, or in the Cathedral. These defects were in some measure supplied by the liberality of the first Lord Hamilton, who, in the year 1459-60, gave to the Principal and other Regents of the Faculty of Arts, for their use and accommodation, a tenement with its pertinents in the High Street of Glasgow, to the north of the Blackfriars, together with four acres of land in the Dowhill, adjacent to the Molendinar Burn,—a possession to which the designation, *the land of the Pedagogy*, was long afterwards applied. The title of this deed is, *Carta super donatione Pædagogii*;—and in the body of the deed itself, the noble donor required certain oaths or obligations to be taken by the principal and regents at their first admission to the Regency of Lord Hamilton's College (*in sua prima institutione ad regimen COLLEGII MEI*); and in particular, they were bound solemnly to commemorate James Lord Hamilton and Lady Euphemia his spouse, as *the founders of the College*. It does not clearly appear, however, that the name of a College was for the first time conferred when this germ or nucleus of the College property was acquired by the Regents of the Faculty of Arts, who, by Lord Hamilton's charter, were bound to give faithful council in the administration of the affairs committed to them by the founders. Two sets of records are preserved, commencing with the origin of the University, one volume of which is entitled, *Annales Universitatis Glasguensis*, from 1451 to 1558; and another, *Annales Collegii Facultatis Artium, in Universitate Glasguensi*, from 1451 to 1555. If this second title was prefixed to the volume so early as the year 1451, the College must have existed before the charter of Lord Hamilton. From this second record it is ascertained, that in 1453, payments were ordered for the repair of a school in the Monastery of the Blackfriars,—in 1457, a debt was incurred, as rent for the *Pædagogium* (pro firma Pædagogii),—and in 1458, the whole funds of the Faculty were appropriated to the building of the *Pædagogium* (ordinatum—quod omnia quæ erant in bursa facultatis exponerentur in ædificationem Pædagogii). This must have been a small sum, as the plague had raged in Glasgow several years, so as to

deter students from coming in any considerable number. All this preceded Lord Hamilton's gift of the *Pædagogium*. Till the year 1462, however, there does not appear to be any express mention of the *Collegium Facultatis Artium*; and it may be questioned if at that time the College was co-extensive with the Faculty, either in the regulation of studies, or in the administration of the funds.

The Statutes of the Faculty of Arts bear, that they were established by the Faculty; and the Annals in the year 1451 contain the names of the masters who, *in congregatione*, confirmed the statutes by their solemn oaths. The whole number is eight, including the three regents, and the first name in the list is William Elphinstone, Dean of Faculty, father (it is believed) of the founder of King's College and University. In these statutes it is ordered, that the studies were annually to begin on the 1st of October, and to continue till the 1st of September next year, the vacation being one month,—that the *Dean* was to be chosen by the Masters in the Faculty of Arts,—that all graduates and students were to be restrained from gambling and dissipation,—that the studies were to be conducted in a certain order under the regents, according to the forms of Bologna and Paris,—that certain fees should be paid to the masters,—that four sworn examiners were to try the bachelors,—that no candidate should be admitted under 15 years of age, unless the Faculty dispense with a year,—that four sworn examiners (two regents, and two non-regents) should also try the candidates for laureation,—that no candidates should be promoted to the degree of master under 20 years of age,—that every candidate must study at least $3\frac{1}{2}$ years,—that the Dean should interrogate the regents as well as students, with regard to their diligence,—that certain fees should be paid by bachelors and masters of arts,—that all who received the degree of M.A. should continue their study in the Faculty of Arts two years, unless they obtained a dispensation,—that no student should maintain within the College any servant, except a scholar acquainted with the Latin tongue, &c. These statutes, though curious and interesting, are less important than the General Statutes of the University.

The oldest Statutes of the University are of uncertain date, but all of them are ordained by the authority of the university itself, (in these terms, "Statuit et ordinat Mater nostra Universitas.") Without reciting such as are frivolous and superstitious, it appears

to be of some use to extract the substance of a few of the most essential.

The supposts were distributed into four nations:—Natio Clidesdaliæ, comprehending the natives of Lanarkshire, Renfrew, and Dumbarton, from Eriskstane, the source of the Clyde, to Dumbarton,—Natio Tividalæ, including the Lothians, Stirling, and all the towns east of the Water of Urr. Natio Albanæ, containing all the country north of the Forth,—and Natio Rothsay, including Ayrshire, Galloway, Argyle, with the Isles, Lennox, and Ireland. It is easy to conceive that, from their local situation, the first and the fourth must have greatly outnumbered the other two nations, which were more connected with St Andrews, and accordingly it appears from the records, that occasionally no supposts, either from the nation of Albany or Teviotdale, were present at the election of the rector.

The election of the rector was ordained to be on the 25th of October, but the form is not very precisely fixed. The decision was to be left to the several nations, and to be intimated by their procurators, not directly, but through the medium of four intrants. In the statute "*de Electione Promotoris*," cases are supposed in which the rector might be otherwise chosen ("si contingat Rectorem aliter eligi"). The rector, when chosen, was to swear that he would maintain the statutes, privileges, and liberties of the universities,—that he would incorporate no one without the accustomed oaths,—that he would defend the supposts, their servants and property,—that he would call general congregations when required by the Procurators,—that he would decide according to the judgment of the majority of the Procurators,—that he would cause all acts of the university to be inscribed in the book of the university,—and that of his own authority, without the consent of the university, he would grant no letters of testimonial.

The duties of the rector are detailed at considerable length. General congregations of the supposts were to be called by a schedule or programme affixed to the doors of the cathedral and other churches and schools. At every congregation the rector was to produce the Statutes and book of Acts or Conclusions; in this book were to be inscribed all the acts of the university, and the annual incorporations of supposts; the statutes were to be read at least once in the year by the rector in public congregation;

in the cognisance of all causes belonging to the jurisdiction of the university, the rector was to act with the advice of persons learned in the law, and especially of the four deputed ; an honourable person, one of the beneficed senior Masters of Arts, was to be deputed as vice-rector, to act in absence of the rector ; the rector was to be distinguished on all occasions by his dress—and on holidays he was to appear with greater state, preceded by the beadle with his rod, and followed by a train of attendants ; the beadle and notary or scribe were to be annually chosen by the rector on his assumption of office.

All the incorporated members or supposts were to swear that they would obey the rector and his successors, that they would keep the secrets of the university, and maintain its privileges and laws.

The four Procurators of the Nations were to be chosen annually, and were to have each of them a key of the chests containing the evidents and writings of the university, not to be opened without leave of the university, or at least of the rector and a majority of his deputed.

The four deputed were to be chosen annually by the rector and the four nations, to advise the rector in all matters concerning his office, and especially in relation to causes affecting the supposts. On the day after the election, they were to meet the rector in his chamber, to consult concerning the institution of new statutes, and to treat of the government and improvement of the university during the ensuing year, &c.

The scribe or notary was to record all judicial acts, decisions, and other authentic papers of the university, and to mark the names of all supposts absent from the general congregation, though resident in the city.

A Promoter was to be chosen every year by the four intrants named by the nations, for the election of the rector,—and *if the Rector should happen to be otherwise elected*, the intrants were still to choose a promoter to manage all causes affecting the university, as general syndic for recovery of debts, and transacting other affairs,—he was to order all transgressors of statutes to be summoned before the rector, and particularly Licentiates and Masters of Arts, and Bachelors of the Canon Law, who had not

fulfilled the engagements which they took on obtaining their respective degrees.

A Receiver or Treasurer (*Bursarius*) was to be chosen annually by the four intrants, to act under the direction of the rector and his deputed.

The Beadle, another annual officer, had very numerous and complicated duties to perform.

The suppots were to be admonished to be circumspect in their manners, abstaining from drunkenness, gluttony, and other gross immoralities (which were well known to have prevailed for ages in foreign universities), and they were to conform in their habits to the practice of Bologna, never appearing at public acts or university meetings, or divine service, except in long gowns.

The great number of holidays enumerated in the University Calendar must have occasioned a most injurious interruption to regularity of study.

The fees, gifts, and convivial entertainments which at some periods were required of those who took the degrees of Bachelor or of Master, must have been very oppressive. There was a time when, on certain occasions, hats, as well as pecuniary presents, were given to the bishop, or any other prelate who was present, as well as to the Rector, the Dean of Faculty, every Regent and every Examiner,—and all other Masters of Arts invited, besides presents in money, were to have gloves.

The University, in all the statutes, reserved to itself the power of adding, diminishing, and dispensing, as well as interpreting,—and as this could only be done in full congregation, where all the Suppots had a voice, it is evident that there was no security for the maintenance of steady discipline, or any uniform procedure.^a

It is unnecessary to point out the many defects in the system of government in the University of Glasgow, as originally constituted. The greatest of all its disadvantages arose from the want of sufficient funds, and the consequent practice of taxing the Students to an oppressive amount. Hence Joannes Major, the historian, who was principal Regent in the College in 1518 and following years,

^a The Statutes of the University of Glasgow, like those of St Andrews, are to be considered merely in the light of bye-laws of a corporation. The same power which enacted must be capable of revoking them, in so far as this can be done without violating the terms of the foundation.

describes it as *parum dotatam, parumque celebrem*. Vide Mid-dendorpii *Acad. Orbis Christiani*, Col. 1572.

In the time of Major, some other branches besides the Arts appear to have been taught. In 1521 and 1522 he is described as *Professor Theologie* as well as Principal. At the same period Robert Lile, Bachelor of Divinity and Prior of the Blackfriars in Glasgow, is represented in the records as having begun to read the 4th Book of the Sentences. With the exception of these cases, and two or three soon after the erection of the university, when attempts were made to establish lectures on the canon and civil law, it may be affirmed that, till the Reformation, the teaching was confined to the Faculty of Arts.^a

About two years before the reformation of religion in Scotland, Archbishop James Beatoun annexed to the University (*Pædagogio sive Universitati Glasguensi*) the perpetual vicarage of the parish of Colmonel, for the common use of the Pædagogium, and of the Masters and Regents. But though this was a benefaction worth the acceptance of a corporation so inadequately endowed, it appears from a document of unquestionable authority (the *Nova Erectio*), that twenty years afterwards, when several new grants had been realised, the whole rental did not exceed £300 Scots, or £25 sterling.

Another proof of the poverty and incompleteness of the establishment at this period, more than one hundred years after the foundation, may be drawn from Queen Mary's letter under the Privy Seal in 1563, erecting five bursaries. Her Majesty says, that a College and University was devised to be had in the city of Glasgow, that part of the schools and chambers being built, the rest, as well dwellings as provisions for the poor Bursars and Masters to teach ceased, so that the same appeared rather to be the decay of a University, than to be reckoned an established foundation. The Queen, therefore, made provision of considerable extent, for five Bursars, viz. the manse and church of the Blackfriars, thirteen acres of land adjoining the city, several annual rents, and ten bolls of meal.

The Bursars were to be nominated by the Crown, but the Col-

^a On one occasion, soon after the establishment of the University (Aug. 2, 1469), we find it stated in the Records, that "Magister Andreas de Garleis, *Doctor in Medicinis*," was received "ad gremium Universitatis;" but there is no evidence that any branch of medical knowledge was taught.

lege profess to be unable to trace any Bursars as having been maintained on this foundation.

In the year 1572, a farther addition was made to the property of the College, by an Act of Parliament, confirming a Charter granted by the town of Glasgow, conveying certain properties and rents which had formerly belonged to the collegiate churches, chapels, and religious houses, and which had been granted to the town by Queen Mary by a gift under the Great Seal (March 16, 1566). In this deed the Provost and Magistrates, lamenting the ruin of the buildings, the extinction of study, and the dissolution of morals arising from poverty and idleness, endowed and founded anew what they call *Collegium nostrum*, for the support of fifteen persons—1. A Professor of Theology, to be Principal or Provost of the College, and two other Regents or teachers of Philosophy, with *twelve* poor Students—the Regents to be removeable after six years' duty, that is, after each had completed the instruction of two successive Classes—the twelve poor Students to be lodged and boarded in the College three years and a half, the time being thought sufficient to prepare them for the Master's Degree in Arts. The Principal was to reside always within the walls of the College, and to lecture every day of the week on the interpretation of the books of Scripture; and, besides his subsistence, he was to receive the tithes and other fruits of the vicarage of Colmonel, and some other rents. The Regents to have board and salaries, of which they were to be deprived if they undertook any other charge, except reading prayers in Blackfriars Church. The twelve poor Scholars were to be nominated by the Magistrates and Town-Council of Glasgow. The Regents were allowed to marry (which was not then the practice in any other College), but not to have their wives within the walls of the College. The whole fifteen founded persons were to eat and sleep within the College, and they and all Students were to subscribe the Scottish Confession of Faith.

Five years afterwards, James VI., by the advice of the Regent Morton, new modelled the Constitution, and made a very considerable addition to the revenue. The charter entitled *Nova Erectio* which was then granted proceeds on a narrative, that the annual rents of the College or Pædagogy were by no means sufficient to maintain the Principal, Masters, Regents, Bursars, and necessary

officers ; and therefore his Majesty bestowed on them the rectory and vicarage of the parish of Govan, valued at 24 chalders of grain annually—and also renewed the gift of all annual rents and other emoluments formerly granted to them. Twelve ordinary persons were appointed to reside always, and to be supported in the College—a Principal, three Regents, an Oeconomus, four poor Students, the servant of the Principal, a cook, and janitor. Twenty-one chalders of grain were set apart for the maintenance of the table of the founded persons,—and the savings were to be bestowed on the pious uses of the College, and the support of the fabric (*sarta tectu*). The Principal was to have the ordinary jurisdiction over all the members of the College,—he was to be a proficient in sacred learning, capable of expounding the mysteries of the faith, and versed in the learned languages, especially Hebrew and Syriac,—he was to lecture at least one hour every day (alternately on theological subjects and on Hebrew literature),—only on Saturday he was to be exempted from the duty of lecturing, that he might hear an account of the week's studies, and have leisure to prepare for preaching to the people of Govan. He was to reside so constantly, that on being absent three nights without leave (from the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and the Regents), his office was to be declared vacant, and another appointed by the King, on receiving intimation of the vacancy from the Regents ; and failing an appointment by the King within thirty days, a Principal was to be elected by the Chancellor, the Rector, the Dean of Faculty, and the Ministers of Glasgow, Hamilton, Cadder, Monkland, and Renfrew. And if, within forty days after the vacancy, these persons could not, on examination, find a sufficient person, the King was to resume the right, and supply the office,—without, however, being entitled to present any one whom the Examiners had pronounced unfit. Out of the rents belonging to the College previous to the new erection, amounting, according to their books, to 300 pounds Scottish money, the Principal was to receive 200 merks as his salary for his labours in the College, and from the tithes of Govan he was to have three chalders of grain for his charge of that parish. The Principal, if negligent, and if after three admonitions by the Rector, Dean, and Regents, he continued incorrigible, might be removed by the persons who had a voice in his election. The three Regents (on a principle which had never before been adopted in

Scotland, and which was afterwards abandoned even in Glasgow) were appointed every one to a particular department of learning, instead of guiding the Students through all the branches of instruction from the beginning to the end of the course. The first was to illustrate the rules of Eloquence from the best Authors, and to exercise the youth in writing and declaiming both in Latin and Greek,—the second was to teach the Elements of Geometry, Logic, Ethics, and Politics, with illustrations of these practical Arts, from the writings of Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle,—the third was to teach the branches of Natural Knowledge, including Geography, Astronomy,^a and Chronology. The first and second Regents were to have fifty merks each annually, and the third, as having the highest dignity and charge next to that of Principal, was to have fifty pounds. Though the Regents were not annually to change their subjects as in other Universities, they might, with the approbation of the Principal, make a permanent transference of their provinces. They were to be chosen by the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and Principal; and they might be removed by the Principal, acting with the judicial advice of the Rector and Dean of Faculty. The four Bursars, or poor Students, were to be presented by the Earl of Morton and his heirs, and admitted by the Principal, who might reject the unworthy, or such as did not require aid. The Œconomus, Provisor, or Steward, was to collect the rents and purchase provisions, rendering a daily account to the Principal and other Masters present. The Masters, with the Provisor, were to render an account four times in the year to the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and Ministers of Glasgow, who were every quarter to attest the accounts, and direct the balance remaining, after all claims were satisfied, to be applied to the necessary uses of the College, and reparations both of the College and of the Church of Govan. The Principal's servant, the cook, and the janitor, were to be chosen by the Principal, and to have six merks annually each, and their subsistence. All the members were, once at least in the year, to profess the Protestant Faith, as contained in the Confession exhibited to the Estates of Parliament in 1560, and ratified in 1567.

Though it does not appear distinctly from any of the returns (otherwise than from a title in one of the inventories), it is ascer-

^a The word in the Charter is *Astrologiam*.

tained that in 1581 Archbishop Boyd gave the College a right to the customs of the Tron, by which additional donation the funds were enabled to support a fourth Regent, who is understood to have been the Teacher of Greek.^a

About this time a new body of statutes, conformable to the *Nova Erectio* or King James's Charter, was framed, entitled "*Jura Leges Instituta*."

From this period the Chancellor was bound to swear that he would maintain the dignity and interest of the University,—defending the Christian Religion as contained in the Holy Scriptures,—allowing no disputation or thesis hostile to it,—examining faithfully every candidate for the Degree of Master,—depriving the unworthy of their honours,—and attempting nothing in the affairs of the University without consent of the Moderators and Masters.^β

The Rector was to be chosen, nearly as under the original statute, by the suffrages of all the Supposts enrolled in the Album of the University, and was to take a more solemn oath, engaging particularly to maintain the Christian Religion against all the enemies of the truth, and to exercise discipline with great impartiality and strictness. It is ascertained from the Records, that the practice at that period was to elect a Clergyman to the office.

The Dean of Faculty, another of the Moderators, was to be a person capable of judging and examining the subjects taught in the University, and to be elected annually by the Moderators and Masters.

The Questor, another annual officer, appointed from among the Regents, was to have the charge of the public purse and library, and to be chosen by the Dean and Masters.

An oath was to be taken by all the Matriculated Students, before they were admitted to hear the Prelections, professing their adherence to the Reformed Doctrines, and their abhorrence of all

^a A copy of the Mortification by Archbishop Boyd (dated May 28, 1581) is preserved in the Register, entitled *Jura Leges Instituta*, page 34. See also Mr Blackhouse's Inventory, No. 3.

^β It is alleged in the Statistical Account of the University, written by Dr Reid, and transmitted to Sir John Sinclair by Professor Jardine, that even

before the Reformation there was no sufficient power over the University to remedy disorders, because the Chancellor, by this self-denying clause in his oath, divested himself of the power which the Pope's Bull gave him; but there is no evidence that such an oath was ever taken before the Reformation.

superstition, and promising obedience to the Rector and other authorities in the University.

Small fees were to be paid at Matriculation to the Rector and Beadle. The second year, Students of the first rank were each to pay to the Treasurer 20s. ; the second rank, 13s. 4d. ; the third rank, 6s. 8d. The third year, these payments were to rise to 30s., 20s., and 10s. ; and the fourth year, to 45s., 30s., and 15s.

The order of instruction was thus prescribed :—In the First Class, from the 1st of October to the 1st of March, the principles of Greek Grammar were to be taught, and illustrated by reading Isocrates, Lysias, &c. ; from that time to the 1st of September the precepts of Eloquence were to be explained from Takaüs, and the various kinds of style were to be exemplified by reading Cicero, Demosthenes, Homer, Aristophanes, &c.

In the Second Class, the whole art of Rhetoric was to be amply treated, in Prelections on Aristotle and Cicero *de Oratore*, &c., with the applications of the rules in Demosthenes, Cicero, Sophocles, and Pindar ; and the other half of the year the principles of Invention and Disposition were to be accurately unfolded from Ramus, and their use illustrated by examples from Plato, Plutarch, Cicero *de Finibus*, and Tusculan Questions.

In the Third Class, the subjects were Arithmetic, Geometry, and other branches of Mathematics,—then Aristotle's Logic, Ethics and Politics, Cicero's Offices, and Plato's Dialogues.

In the Fourth Class, Aristotle's Physics, the Doctrine of the Sphere, Cosmography, Introduction to Universal History, and the principles of the Hebrew Tongue.

The distribution of the Hours of attendance on Lectures and other Academical Exercises was very minutely specified. Five in the morning was to be the hour of rising,—at six, every Master was to enter his Class-Room, and examine the Students, and otherwise instruct them till eight. The whole were then to proceed to public prayers, a duty which was not to occupy more than half an hour. From prayers they were to retire separately to their private studies, and revise the morning exercises till nine,—half an hour was then to be allowed for breakfast, and study was to be resumed till ten. From ten to eleven, the public Lecture on Theology was to be given to the two higher Classes. At eleven, every Master was to attend his Class while his Students reviewed the morning

Lectures. At twelve, an hour was allowed for dinner. At one, every Master was to hear his Students in their order defend their Thesis, as announced the day before. From the 1st of April to the 1st of August there were to be disputations after supper on play-days ; on the first, second, and third days of the week, when play was not allowed, the Students, from two to three, were to be in their rooms, and from three to four, to review the public Prelections. From four to five, the Masters were to examine and teach their Classes. At five, the whole Classes assembling in public Schools were to dispute before the Masters, and the subjects of these daily disputations (prescribed the previous day) were to be Greek and Latin alternately. On Saturday, from ten to twelve, the three higher Classes were to have public disputations,—one of each Class, in rotation, was every third day to exhibit his Thesis, and the two higher Classes were to dispute both against one another and the lower Classes.

One of the Masters, in his turn, acting as Hebdomader, was to perustrate all the chambers of the Students within the College, and to rouse them from sleep, at five in the morning. He was to visit them again at nine in the evening, and mark absentees. He was to preside in the devotions, and to accompany the Students on their way to and from their recreations in the fields. The second, fourth, and sixth days of the week were to be allowed for recreation, from dinner to four o'clock ; and on no other days or hours had the Principal or the Master the power of giving their scholars liberty to play.

The rules relating to character and conduct were numerous. No profane or disreputable Student was to be admitted. To prevent idleness, the Principal was, every month at least, to take account of the progress of all the Students, by questionnaire trials, by writing, or by the interpretation of a Classic Author. All who received the Degree of Master must have attended the public Prelections on Theology. All were to speak Latin. All Students of Divinity were every fortnight to defend or impugn Theses in presence of the Principal and Masters. Every slanderer of another's name was to be expelled with ignominy. No Master of Arts was to associate familiarly with the Students. No one was to enter a tavern or bowling-green, or to play at rackets, or to play at all, except when leave was granted to all, and even then not to be more than a

quarter of an hour in the fields. All the Masters were to attend Divine service regularly with their Students. None were to have leave to absent themselves. After dinner, all the Students boarded at the table were to stand up, while thanks were returned, and a psalm sung. The day before the Holy Communion was to be employed by the Professors in reading to their pupils on subjects connected with that solemnity ; and all Professors, Masters of Arts, and Students, were to communicate at the same table. No one was to be permitted to bear arms ; and any Student attacking another to the effusion of blood, was to be chastised and expelled. A Master of Arts committing the same offence, was not only to be ejected, but deprived of his Degree. Any one detected in nocturnal rambles, was to be punished with the greatest severity. Swimming was prohibited, and any one offending against this rule was to be beaten with many stripes, and expelled.

The Examination of Candidates for the Degree of Master was to be held on the third week of August. The examination of new Students, and of such as had attended the former year, was to begin on the 7th of October. Every one to be examined was to present to the Dean and Examiners a certificate from his Teacher, attesting his correct morals, diligence, and attainments. The *Honoraria* of the Teachers were to be paid according to rank and fortune. Sons of the Nobility and Barons of Scotland were to pay annually at least three pounds ; those of the second rank, who, though inferior to the Barons, possessed means sufficiently ample, were to pay two pounds ; those of the third rank to pay one pound ; the poor were to be admitted free of all charge.

The Examiners were to be the Dean of Faculty, the Principal, with the other Professors, and the Master of the Grammar School, —all sworn to be faithful and impartial.

After due examination, the Dean and others were to decide on the qualifications of the several Candidates, and to dispose their names according to their merits. On the day of promotion, after the public disputations, the roll of names was to be presented by the Dean to the Chancellor. The Candidates, after being announced, were to be placed in their order, and to kneel down, while the Chancellor, also kneeling, was to pray. After prayer, the Chancellor and Masters were to rise ; and the Chancellor was solemnly to confer the Degree on the Candidates, still kneeling.

After the benediction, they were to take their seats, with their heads covered.

This general account of the Statutes, framed under the New Erection, while Presbyterianism was at its height, may suffice to show what were the views of the leaders of the Church of Scotland with regard to the conduct of public Education. Some of the details, and particularly the allotment of distinct provinces to the several Teachers, appear to have been suggested by the First Book of Discipline presented by the Reformers to the Nobility of Scotland in the year 1560; but the establishment of Professors was less complete, and their provision less liberal, than had been proposed in that celebrated document. In one very material point these Statutes depart from the recommendation of the Book of Discipline. Every person having his name inscribed in the Album of the University, was to have a vote in the election of the Rector; and if every Student who had left the University, after completing his Course and taking his Degree, was included in this description, the votes of men of mature judgment and experience might greatly outnumber those of the younger Students. The method proposed in the First Book of Discipline afforded a still better security against the alleged disadvantage of admitting the votes of the younger Students. It was this:—"The Principals of Colleges being convened, with the whole Regents chapterly, shall be sworn that every man speaking in his own room shall nominate such a one as his conscience shall testify to be most sufficient to bear such charge and dignity: and three of them that shall be ofttest nominated shall be put in edict publicly fifteen days before Michaelmas; and these shall, on Michaelmas eve, convene the whole Principals, Regents, and Supposts that are graduate, or at least have studied their time in Ethics, Œconomics, and Politics, and no others younger,—and every one shall nominate one of the three; and he that hath most votes shall be confirmed," &c. It seems somewhat strange and inconsistent to prohibit all familiar intercourse between Masters of Arts and Students, and yet to allow even the youngest Students to exercise the same privilege with the oldest members of the University. No doubt it was thought equitable to give every individual who might be called before the Rector's Court a voice in the nomination of the judge by whom he was liable to be tried. This, however, is a privilege which other subjects do not

enjoy ; and there does not appear to be any greater reason for giving all the Students a vote in the choice of the authority to which they must be subject, than for giving them the nomination of the Masters by whom they are to be instructed. The extreme youth of many of the Supposts of the University, from the earliest times, would have been considered as disqualifying them for taking a part in any public or private business, and much more for voting in the appointment of any officer of responsibility or dignity. Under the ancient statutes, the trials of a Bachelor might commence when he reached his fifteenth year, or by dispensation, his fourteenth ; and though the Degree of Master was not to be conferred till the twentieth year, we know that in many instances this statute was disregarded.^a

It appears from the Records, that the Regents, from the year 1594, if not earlier, were appointed by the Moderators and Masters of the University, every one being bound to serve six years, unless he obtained leave to retire. In the year 1635 a clause was introduced into the oath of every Regent, binding him to lay down his appointment if he should marry.

Various Commissions of Visitation have at different periods introduced regulations, for the purpose of supplying defects, or resolving doubtful points, in the original Constitution.

A Commission of Visitation, appointed by the General Assembly in the year 1639, and renewed in subsequent years, introduced a number of important innovations. The most material change effected on the Constitution, established by James VI. in the charter entitled *Nova Erectio*, was this :—On the understanding that it was a disadvantage to Students to change their Masters annually, it was required that every Master, instead of continuing to teach the same branch, should educate his own scholars through all the four Classes.^β This mode of conducting academical educa-

^a Sir James Turner begins his Memoirs by stating that he was not seventeen years old when he commenced Master of Arts at Glasgow, much against his will, and very undeservedly, as many had done before him and since—a statement which is confirmed by the Records of the University, in which the name of James Turner is inscribed among the

Laureati in 1631, and it is known that he was born in February 1615. This case is by no means singular.

^β At this time, Mr James Dalrymple, afterwards Viscount Stair, was youngest Regent, having been appointed in 1641, at the age of twenty-two. It was at that time the practice for every Regent, when he took the oath of office, to engage to

tion was long followed in all the Universities of Scotland, and (chiefly owing to the great authority of the late Dr Thomas Reid, who gave it a decided preference) it continued to prevail at Aberdeen till the year 1800.^a

During the whole of that century, not only at Glasgow, but in the other Universities, the Regents or Teachers of Philosophy (with very few exceptions) were young men who had recently finished their academical studies, and who were destined for the Church. The course of study which it was their duty to conduct was calculated to form habits of severe application in early life, and to give them great facility both in writing and in speaking. The Universities had the advantage of their services during the vigour of life, when they were unencumbered by domestic cares, and when they felt how much their reputation and interest depended on the exertions which they made. After serving a few years (seldom

vacate his charge in the event of his marriage; and Mr Dalrymple having married in 1643, demitted accordingly, but was re-appointed by the *Moderators* of the University.

^a The views of Dr Reid and his colleagues on this subject are briefly stated in a printed "Abstract of some Statutes and Orders of King's College, in Old Aberdeen, 1753." The following paragraph deserves transcription:—

"The Masters having taken under their deliberate consideration, Whether it is more fit that the Students of Philosophy should, through all the three years of their Philosophy Course, be under the care of the same Professor, which has been the practice in this University hitherto; or if the three Professors of Philosophy should confine themselves each to a distinct branch of Philosophy, and the Students pass a Session under each of them successively, as is the custom in some other Universities; agreed to continue their ancient practice, which, though more laborious to the Professors, seems to them more beneficial to the Students: Because every Professor of Philosophy in this University, is also Tutor to those who

study under him—has the whole direction of their studies, the training of their minds, and the oversight of their manners; and it seems to be generally agreed that it must be detrimental to a Student to change his Tutor every Session. It may be reasonably supposed that a Professor, in three years, may acquire an acquaintance with the temper and genius of his Pupils, and an authority over them, which may be of great use to them, and yet is not to be expected in the course of one Session: He must be better able to judge of the progress they have made in their studies during the Vacation, and to examine them upon what they have been taught in former Sessions, or make a recapitulation thereof where it is necessary; and though it may be allowed, that a Professor who has only one branch of Philosophy for his province may have more leisure to make improvements in it for the benefit of the learned world, yet it does not seem at all extravagant to suppose that a Professor ought to be sufficiently qualified to teach all that his Pupils can learn in Philosophy in the course of three Sessions."

more than eight, or less than four), they generally obtained appointments in the Church, and thus transferred to another field the intellectual industry and aptitude for communicating knowledge, by which they had distinguished themselves in the University. It may well be conceived, that by stimulating and exemplifying diligence, their influence on their brethren in the ministry was not less considerable than on the parishioners, who more directly enjoyed the benefit of attainments and experience more mature than can be expected from such as have never had access to similar means of improvement. . . .

The early history of the Library of the College of Glasgow is curious and interesting; but it would be unsuitable to the object of this Report to enumerate all the donations and bequests by which it was originally formed, and subsequently augmented. In the year 1475 (as appears from the Annals of the Faculty of Arts, vol. ii. p. 46), John Laing, Bishop of Glasgow, gave to the Pædagogium, for the use of the Regents, one large volume in parchment, containing most of the works of Aristotle, and another in paper consisting of Commentaries or Questions on these works. At the same time Duncan Bunch, Principal of the College, gave also, for the use of the Regents, a greater number of books, nine of them containing works of Aristotle and his Commentators, and another thus described—"Una Biblia in pergameno in parvo volumine litera optima complete scripta." In 1483, John Brown, Canon of Glasgow, formerly a Regent, left for the use of the Regents fourteen or fifteen volumes of Scholastic Philosophy. There can be no question that all the works already referred to were manuscripts,—and the use of them in the instruction and examination of the Students is occasionally adverted to in the Records of the Faculty of Arts. A very limited range of study was at that time thought necessary, and those were generally esteemed the most promising scholars who imbibed with obsequious and servile reverence the dogmatical instructions which were transmitted, with few variations, from one race of teachers to another; so that the books which were chiefly in request were almost all of one character.

Immediately after the charter of *Nova Erectio* began to be acted on, Mr Andrew Hay, Minister of Renfrew, and Rector of the University, who is known to have been particularly active in framing the new Constitution, laid the foundation of a reformed Library, by the

gift of Castalio's Latin Version of the Scriptures. The next donation consisted entirely of Greek works, chiefly Classics, such as the works of Plutarch, Plato, Demosthenes, Appollonius, Aristophanes, Strabo, Euclid—twenty volumes in all—distinguished in the catalogue thus—"Omnes ex dono viri optimi et doctissimi Georgii Buchananani Domini nostri Regis Magistri." Buchanan gave about the same time at least an equal number of volumes to the College of St Leonard's, of which he had been Principal.^a

About the same time a few books were bought by Thomas Jack, Quæstor of the University, and one of the titles, "*Historia Scotorum Manuscripta, authore G. Buchananano*," contained in the original list, is omitted in the transcript prefixed to the next volume of the Records.^β The next considerable accession to the Library was gained by a bequest from James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow. It consisted chiefly of the works of the Fathers, and other ancient ecclesiastical writers. Donations were also given by several Clergymen and Regents, as Thomas Jack, Peter Blackburn, Archibald Crawford, Rector of the University, and Mark Jameson, Minister of Kilspindy, between the years 1580 and 1590. Mr John Howieson, Minister of Cambuslang, founder of one of the Bursaries, left to the Library, in 1619, about 130 volumes, chiefly writings of the Reformers, besides a numerous collection of works of his own, intended for the press. In April 1619, Mr Alexander Boyd, Professor of Greek and Roman Eloquence, left to the College a collection of works of biblical learning, worth more than 500 merks, along with 1000 merks in money for the College buildings.^γ

^a The College of Glasgow appears to have been indebted to Buchanan for other benefactions, the extent of which cannot now be ascertained—for in the year 1578, when the Principal and Regents, with the express consent of the Rector and Dean of Faculty, signed a lease of the newly-acquired lands of Balagan, in the parish of Kilmaronock, to John Buchanan, who had previously occupied the lands, they expressed themselves thus—"The weil and profit of our said College being rypelie considerit, and specialle for the singular favour that ane honourable man, Mr George Buchanan, teacher of our Sove-

rane Lord in gude lettres, hes borne and shawen at all times to our College." —*Annal. Coll. Fac. Art.*, p. 157.

^β The first list contains Augustini Opera, 8 vol. Par. 1544; Cicronis Opera, R. Stephani; Aristotelis Opera Basil; *Historia Scotorum MS. authore G. Buchananano*; the Hail Acts of Parliament; the Bible of Govan and College. In place of Buchanan's MS., the transcribed list has substituted *Politica Aristotelis cum Comment. Paris*. The volume containing the transcript begins with the year 1590.

^γ Quos omnes 500 monetæ nostræ marcarum pretium ad minimum exce-

From the year 1615, it was the practice for Students, on being laureated, to leave a donation of books to the University, as a memorial of their gratitude, and a pledge of their future respect. Many of these books are enumerated without distinguishing the donors, and in one instance, about 20 volumes on Logic and Metaphysics are thus referred to one student: Hos omnes Archibaldus Johnstonus laurcâ donandus Academiæ Glasguensi donavit *ἐνχαριστίας τεκμηριον*.

In the year 1630 a subscription was set on foot for the advancement of the Library, and the fabric of the College. One of the volumes containing the original subscriptions having been preserved, commemorates the liberality of many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, as well as of many clergymen and professors, who, possessing very limited stipends, contributed sums which in several instances must have approached or equalled the annual amount of their professional incomes. This volume is entitled, "An Inventorie of the Voluntar Contributions of the Soums of Money gevin or promised to be gevin for the building of an Common Librarie within the Colledge of Glasgow, furnishing thereof with Books, and otherways enlarging the fabrick of the said Colledge to the public and privat use of the Students, be the persons efter mentionat, according to their severall tickatts and subscriptions in this book." The subscriptions of the most obscure of these individuals appear to have been punctually paid, while those of persons of higher rank were sometimes forgotten. The first leaf of the volume contains this memorandum: "His Majestie's contribution was grationslie granted at Setoun the 14 of Julie 1633." The contribution referred to is entered on a subsequent page, the superscription and the sum being in the handwriting of the King—"Charles R. It is our gracious pleasure to grant, for advancement of the Librarie and Fabrick of the Colledge of Glasgow, the soume of *Two hundred pounds sterlin*." A note of a subsequent date is added in these words:—"This soume was payed by the Lord Protector, An. 1654." The next subscription to the volume, (though not in the order of its date), is James Mar-

dentes; . . . una cum mille marcis . . . in ædium Collegii structuram novam impendendis (nunc autem cum duplo ejusdem summe in eundem usum expensis)

pia et grata mente nec minus sancto laudabilique proposito, legavit idem p. m. frater et Collega noster (Mr Al. Bodius) anno prædicto.

quis of Hamilton, 1000 merks, May 11, 1631. This was paid in August 1656, by the Treasurer for sequestrated estates. James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, paid 1000 merks, subscribed July 26, 1630, the earliest date in the volume. John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews (in 1632), and Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow (in 1636), subscribed 1000 merks each,—but delayed payment till the reverses of their circumstances deprived them of the power. The town of Glasgow subscribed 2000 merks. The Earl of Montrose and Lord Lindsay paid 400 merks each ; the Earls of Abercorn and Wigton, and John Lesly, Bishop of the Isles, 600 each ; the Earl of Angus and Lord Lorne, 500 each ; the Earl of Stirling, 750 ; the Lords Sempill, Boyd, Lauderdale, and Loudoun, 300 each ; the towns of Stirling and Ayr, 300 each ; Viscount Clunniboy, 800 ; Lord Napier and Sir Robert Spottiswood, 200 merks each ; the Earl of Galloway and Lord Elphinstoun, 100 each. Ten Scottish gentlemen at the Court of England, in 1632, contributed 2400 merks ; Mr John Strang, Principal, gave 500 merks ; Mr Robert Baillie, Regent, 100 merks ; Mr Zachary Boyd, 500 merks, in 1630,—to which benefaction he added not only the foundation of a Bursary, but a large collection of books, and various sums, amounting in all to 30,000 merks, or £20,000 Scots. These donations have been recorded in an inscription on the front of the College in these words:—"Magister Zacharias Bodius, fidelis ecclesiæ suburbanæ pastor, viginti mille libras, qua ad alendos tres adolescentes Theologiæ Studiosos qua ad extenendas novas has Ædes, una cum universa suppellectili Libraria, Almæ Matri Academiæ legavit." The manner in which these and other donations were distributed, cannot now be exactly ascertained, but there is reason to believe that a very large proportion was expended on the buildings.

In the original Bull of Foundation, no property whatever is conveyed to the body founded under the name of *Studium Generale*. It was not, however, in the contemplation of the Founder, that the University, from its local situation, would be able to support itself. Till the period when the University was established, Glasgow is said never to have contained more than 1500 inhabitants, not one-hundredth part of its present population. More than 100 years afterwards (in the reign of Queen Mary) at the taxation of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, Glasgow rated only as

the eleventh.^a The town itself, therefore, could not be expected to furnish a great number of students, beyond such as were attracted to the place by the desire of attaching themselves to the Church. But the existence of a Cathedral, and of a number of religious houses, not only produced a demand for learning, but supplied a sufficient complement of teachers, furnished with all the branches of scholastic erudition to which any value was attached, before the taste and philosophy of Greece had been transferred to the west of Europe, and before the invention of printing had begun to accelerate and secure the progress of intellectual improvement. More than 200 years before the foundation of the University, both Black and Grey Friars had established themselves in Glasgow. The Collegiate Church of St Enoch had a Provost and eight Prebendaries. About the same period, or rather earlier, the Prebendaries in the Cathedral were increased to the number of 32. The Chaplains of Altars were also a numerous body; and among these ecclesiastics it must have been easy to find many who aspired to the honour of teaching Philosophy without much prospect of gain. The Priory of Blantyre, the Monastery of Lesmahago, the Provostries or Collegiate Churches of Bothwell and Hamilton (the one having six Prebendaries, and the other eight), and the opulent and powerful Abbey of Paisley, having, besides its large establishment of monks, not fewer than 29 parish churches attached to it (not to mention Kilwinning, and other religious houses in Ayrshire), were all capable of sparing, without inconvenience, such of their inmates as possessed an aptitude for imparting knowledge. There is no doubt that for a considerable period the education of the youth in the University of Glasgow was conducted chiefly by persons whose emoluments were derived from sources unconnected with the University itself, if we except the trifling *honoraria* paid by such Students as were not exempted on account of poverty. The first trace of any property bestowed on this literary establishment is contained in the Charter of Lord Hamilton (1459–60), conveying to Duncan Bunch, Principal Regent in the Faculty of Arts, a house in the High Street, and four acres of land in the Dovehill.^β

^a Almost the only trade with foreign countries at that time consisted of salmon and herrings cured for the French market.

^β This property had belonged to the Prior and Convent of the Preaching Friars of Glasgow, having been given them by Sir Gawin of Hamilton, Provost

But this instrument, in which Lord Hamilton assumes the title of Founder of the College, evidently proceeds on the supposition that it either was already otherwise endowed, or was secure of some additional provision sufficiently ample to support a table in the College for the Masters and all the Students. The next grant of which any record has been preserved, is that of David Cadzow, Rector of the University, who gave twelve merks annually for the support of a Lecturer in the Canon Law, to be presented by the Rector and his four deputies, and to be admitted by the Bishop as Chancellor.

In the year 1475, the Annals of the Faculty of Arts contain this entry :—"Ordinatum fuit ut omnes personæ possidentes certas acras terrarum spectan. ad Facultatem vocarentur per decanum ad ostendendum quo titulo et quo jure hujusmodi acras terrarum possident." (*Ann. Fac. Art.*, p. 47.)

The next grant of which any account has been transmitted to the Commissioners, is contained in the Charter by James Beatoun, Archbishop of Glasgow, dated January 24, 1557, conveying to the Pedagogium or University of Glasgow, and to the Masters and Regents in the same, the perpetual vicarage of the parish of Colmonel, with all its fruits, rents, rights, church-lands, and emoluments. In this deed the Principal was restrained from giving any leases of the property without the leave of the *Rector and Dean of Faculty* and the Masters and Regents, and was bound to apply the rents and profits to the common uses of the Pedagogium or University, and of the Masters and Regents. This first gift of property from any of the Bishops of the Diocese was granted only two years before the Reformation, and its value was very inconsiderable. A few years afterwards (in 1570) the vicarage was let for £42, 13s. 4d. Scots, and the glebe land was set in feu for 40s. a-year. (*Lib. Dec. Fac.*, vol. ii., p. 56.)

The earliest royal grant of property of which there is any trace, was that of Queen Mary in the year 1563, conveying the Manse and Kirk-room of the Blackfriars of Glasgow, with thirteen acres of land. To what extent the College was ever benefited by this

of Bothwell; but was resigned by them, February 1, 1454, as appears by a writing contained in the Annals of the Faculty, p. 107, where some other titles

connected with this property are inserted. Duncan Bunch, Principal, was also Vicar of Wiston in Lanarkshire.

donation, cannot now be clearly ascertained ; but there is reason to believe that the land, which from its local situation might have been very productive, has, by some early transaction which cannot now be traced, proved as unprofitable as some of the old annual rents, which are scarcely worth the trouble of collecting.

The lands of Balagan, conferred on the College by James VI. in 1578, were evidently intended to be a substantial boon ; but they yield no more than ten bolls of oatmeal (or less than £10 a-year), the rate at which they were let to John Buchanan, on a lease of nineteen years, commencing in 1579.^a

Many other old payments have become so insignificant in value, that they have long ceased to be demanded, and are now lost sight of.

It is unnecessary here to enumerate the grants which can be traced in the Rentals and Charters. But it is proper to mention, that at different periods, liberal donations for special purposes were obtained, both from private individuals and from corporate bodies. For instance, in the year 1630, a subscription, of which notice has already been taken, was commenced for the purpose of building a Library, providing books, and otherwise enlarging the Fabric.

In the years 1655 and 1656, more than 35,700 merks, raised chiefly by similar means, were expended on the buildings ; and about three years afterwards, above 5000 merks. In these last sums were included part of the bequest of Mr Zachary Boyd, a Presbyterian Minister of Glasgow, who, as appears from an inscription on one of the walls, and from other documents, bestowed in all £20,000 Scots on the buildings, the Library, and three Bursaries.

About the same period (1655 and 1656), a contribution of £20 sterling a-month, or £240 a-year, was granted by the Council of State, in aid of the fund for building.

By a Charter of Oliver Cromwell in 1654, ratified in 1657, several grants were added, as—1. The gift of the superiority of the Bishoprick of Galloway. 2. The benefices and other revenues belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Glasgow, to the extent of £200 sterling yearly. 3. The privilege and liberty of printing of Bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, or other languages, with

^a This rent is the exact allowance for the maintenance of a single which was at that time thought sufficient. Bursar.

all books relating to the Faculties of Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Philosophy, and Philology, and all books whatever, if ordered and privileged to the press by the University. 4. The vacant stipends of all Parish Churches where the University are titulars and proprietors of the benefices. This last privilege, which was intended to endure for seven years, was productive of considerable emolument as long as the Commonwealth lasted. The composition-money for the entry of vassals in Galloway was also considerable; but this, like the other articles in the Charter, yielded only a temporary benefit.

No. IX.—(Vol. I., page 252.)

EXTRACTS FROM SESSION AND BURGH RECORDS RELATIVE TO THE
DISPENSATION OF THE COMMUNION.

(*Selected from the Author's Transcripts.*)

EDINBURGH.

1560.

To H. Meffen, for vi^{xx} breid to the Communion, . . . 40s.
 8½ gallons wyne, ... 3l. 8s.
 Sondag, 2 of March, ye communion ministrat be John
 Knox in ye hie kirk of Edinburgh—Mononday, Twysday,
 Wednesday, Thursday, Fryday, Setterday.
 8 June. Second Communion, iij^x bred, . . . 30s.
 8 gall. wine, ... 4l. 16s.
 8 Sep. Third Communion, 24 breid, . . . 28s.
 6½ gall. wyne, ... 3l. 10s.

1561 to 1562.

The first Tabill of ye communion in ye compters first
 year.
 To carry daillis to be ane travess for holding furth of ye
 non-communicants:—
 4 workmen at ye helpen owpe of ye sd travess, setting of
 ye tables, &c., ... 6s.

1561 to 1562.

Twa dusson of breid, price of ye peece 14d.,	28s.
6 gallons twa pints wyne,	57s. 6d.
The 2d Communion : 3 dozen of breid,	42s.
Twa barells wyne, contenand 10 gallons,	5l. 14s. 4d.
The 3d Communion : 3 dozen of breid,	42s.
10 gallons 3 pints wine,	6l. 4s. 6d.

1562 to 1563.

<i>Sunday 20 Dec. & Sunday 27 Dec.</i> , 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ gallons wyne to ye Communion,	10l. 4s.
3 doz. four bread,	15s.
2 dozen torches,	3 lib.
The 2d Communion, 15 Apr., 4 doz. 3 bread, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons wyne,	10l.
Candle <i>baith the days</i> ,	18d.
Last Communion : 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ gallons wyne, <i>baith days</i> , 20d. pint,	8l. 10s.
4 doz. 4 mair breid,	3l. 18s.

1563 to 1564.

1st Communion 12 & 19 Dec. (the nobility being in town), 14 gallons 2 q ^{ts} wine,	9l. 13s. 4d.
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen breid, (18s. the dozen.)	
2d Communion Ap. 1564 : 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ gallons wine,	9l.
4 dozen breid,	3l. 12s.
3d Communion, Aug. 25 : 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ gals. wine,	6l. 10s.
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen bread,	56s.

1573 to 1574.

Expensis debursit upon ye first Tabill ministerit in Oct. 1573.

$\frac{1}{2}$ stane of candill <i>to ye 4 days</i> ,	32s.
7 dozen of breid	6l. 6s.
Ane puncheon of wyne	18l.
Sax quartis mair,	32s.
Half ane dozen of torches & 1 roll of walx, to Jhon Kairns.	

Expensis upon ye 2d Communion, 9 May 1574.

Ane puncheon of wyne,	30 lib.
5 dozen and 3 breid,	4l. 14s. 6d.
3 lb. saip for washing of ye buird claiths,	6s.

(*Dean of Guild's Accounts.*)

1573 (4).—"The publication of the Lord's table w^t ye examination. The said day forsamekle as the ministeris, elders, and deaco[ns, seeing] yt the table of the Lord Jhesus hes not yis lang tyme bipast bene ministratt, and being cairfull yrof hes tho^t gud y^t ye [same sal]be w^t diligence done, God willing, and for yis purpos hes ordanit ye *examinationes* of ye q^rteris sal begyne upoun t[ues]day nixtocum at ij ho^{rs} efternowne, ye names of ye ex[aminators], w^t ye places of examination, as followis: ffor the northwest q[uar]ter, Mr James Lowsone, minister, and w^t him adjoint Johnne . . . wod, Johnne Freir, eldaris, Andro Sym-sone and Richart Thomsoun, deacones; ye place of examinatioun to be ye Nethar Counsall hous. ffor ye nor^t east quarter, Johnne Carnis, minister, with him adjoint, W^m. Naper, Henry Charter-hous, eldaris; Johnn Morisone and W^m. Menteth, deacones, ye place of examination ye nether tolbourht. ffor ye southeast quarter, William Hailaw, minister, with him adjoint Mychaell Ches-holme, eldar, Thomas Paterson, and Thomas deacons, ye place of examination to be ye over tolbourht. . . . South-west q^rter, Johnne Dusye, minister, and w^t him adjoint Foster, and Patr. Rig, eldairs, James Maisbilon and James, [dea]cons—ye place of examination to be ye Magdalene requestis of ye Magistrates to cause ye of^{al} according to ye accus

1574. Dec. 7.—The s^d day the kirk ordained ye ministers to signifie ye morne to ye brethering ye maner of ye holie Com-munion, and ye ordor yrof. It is tho^t guid first to begyne at the haill south syde of ye town, ye bell to begin to ryne upon Sunday at fo^r ho^{rs} in ye morning, ye sermond to begyne at five ho^{rs}, and ye ministration to begyne at sex and sua to continew. Item, the bell of new agane to begin to ring at aucht ho^{rs}, ye sermond to begyn at ryne, and sua to continew. Item, the haill communicants to cum in proper person upon Friday next to cum at twa ho^{rs} after-none, and ressave thair tickets in ye places of examination.

(The same minute of Dec. 7, 1794, contains the institution of "ane general fast w^tin ye bur^t. of Edinbu^t." :—)

Item, ye Kirk hes thoet guid, fairseand ye greit appeirand plage and scourge of pest, &c., w^t ye *celebration of ye holy table* [to ordain] *ane publick fast and humiliation* for the space of aucht dayes, togidder with ane ernist invocation and prayer for the

assistance of God's Holy Spreit, y^t or sinnes may be pardonit, quairby ye sd appearand scourge may be removit, and God's wray^t pasifit; ye sd publict fast to begynne upon Saturday nixt to cum, at aucht ho^{rs} at ewin, and sua to continew qll [until] Sondag at six ho^{rs} at ewin, yr foud only to be breid and drink, w^t all kind of sobrietie; ye sermond to begyne on Saturday at thrie ho^{rs} efternone, and sua to continew. The Kirk ernistlie requeist ye brethering and haill commonicantis y yis ordo^r be kepit, &c.—(*Records of Kirk-Sessions of Edin.*)

1574-75.

Expensis debursit upon ye first Tabill in Dec. 1574.

Tho^s. Henderson's wyfe for 10½ gallons of wyne, 18l. 18s.

4 quarts of aill, ... 6s. 8d.

6 dozen of bread, ... 6l.

Aucht torches, ... 2s. 8d.

21 lb. of candles, ... 31s. 1d.

Mair gotten the 2d day of ye Commu. 8 gals.

4 pts., and ane chopine, ... 15l. 6s.

Second tabill: Ane puncheon of wyne, ... 27l. 10s.

Mair bocht fra Gilbert Thornetounis wyfe, 11

quarts and ane pynt, ... 5l. 15s.

4 quarts ale, ... 5s. 4d.

W^m. Fydis for 6½ doz. of bread, ... 7l. 16s.

Washing of ye buird claiss, ... 6s.

Summa of both Communions, ... 87l. 7s. 10d.

1578.—1st Communion:

26 gallons of wyne, ... 41l. 12s.

For bread, ... 14l. 10s.

For candell, ... 3s. 9d.

Item for twelf stand of cairts to be tikkits 10s.

It. to Jhon Mosman, goldsmyth, for stamping
of thame 25s.

2d Communion Dec. 28, 1578:

It. for xii stand of cairts, 10s. It. for stamping of thame,
24s.

3d Com. May 3, 1579.—12 stand of cairts to be tickets.

It. for stamping of tham to John Mosman, 24s.

1586-7.—To 4 buikes to ye four ministeris to taik up ye names of ye quarters (the same entry occurs in subsequent years).

1590.—1st Communion : Ane puncheon of claret wine, 36l. 10s., 9 gallons mair 16l. 16s. 2d Communion : 1 puncheon of claret wine cost 35l.; 6½ gallons more, 14l. 6s. Communion in the College, 2 gallons wine, 4l. 8s.—(*Dean of Guild's Accounts.*)

1629. Jan. 30.—Ordainis intimation to be made ye next Sabbath, that the halie Communion is to be celebrate wthin yis bur^t ye twa next Sabbaths, in all ye four kirks of yis bur^t, and y^rfore to desyre all ye inhabitants of ye same to repair ilk man to his awin parochin conforme to ye accustomit manner.

Feb. 13.—Forsamekle as Don. Campbell burgess of yis bur^t, has been of yis lang tyme remarkit not to frequent ye kirk, nor participat of ye halie communion, and y^rfore suspect of papistrie. After long dealing be ye ordinar pastors of ye bur^t, ye said Donald has renuncit ye Roman religion, ordanis him to communicat ye next Sabbath, with certification if he fail they will proceed to censure him y^rfore, conforme to the laws and order of ye Church in such cases.—(*Register of the Kirk-Session of the South-East parish of Edin.*)

1643. March 8.—The six sessions ordaines Mr And. Ramsay, &c., to pass to the Council of Edin^r on Fryday next, and there to deal earnestlie with them for providing help to the ministers in so needful a tyme, not only for moe preachers, but also for catechists to instruct the ignorant and catechise the people, *that the Communion may be more frequentlie celebrat.*

1643. July 5.—The six sessions ordaines Mr Geo. Gillespie, min^r (with two elders) to remonstrat to the Councell that it is thought expedient to appoint collections for the poor upon the Saturdays immediately preceeding the celebration of the Communion, while the people is convening to the sermon of preparation, and that according to the common custom universally practised through the whole kingdom, lyk as the six sessions has appoven and consented to the same.

April 3, 1652. The (south-east) session ordains a motion to be made to the six sessions, concerning the celebration of the Communion, which is most earnestly desyred.

6 April 1652 (6 sessions). As concerning the motion made by the south-east session anent the celebration of the Communion, it cannot convenientlie be celebrate, as is now thought, till there be a lawfull judicaterie of the kirk to determine anent the present course of defection^a carried on amongst us against the covenant, and what censure it deserves.

April 12, 1655. The qlk day the six sessions being met, the ministers did make report that they had not as yet received the answer of their letter written to St Andrews anent the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It is appointed that Mr Mungo Law, minister, and Walter Borthwick, elder, and his deacon, shall repair to St Andrews expresslie to the effect that they, receiving an answer from them, may report the same at the next meeting of the six sessions.

7 May. Mr Mungo Law reported that he and Walter Borthwick, his deacon, had been at St Andrews, and the answer anent the celebration of the Communion was, that though it was fitting that the celebration thereof be hastened, they had received certain overtures, for which cause the ministers are to-morrow to confer anent them, and they intend to confer with the ministers of St Andrews every Sabbath, and they hope to celebrate the Sacrament shortly.

12th June. The quhilk day it is resolved by the ministers and 6 sessions concerning the celebration of the Lord's (Supper), that the tyme (God willing) sal be upon the last Lord's-day of July, and the first Lord's-day.—(*Book of the General Session of Edinburgh*).

^a ["They (the Covenanters) were in nothing more singular than in their communions. In many places the sacrament was discontinued for several years, where they thought the magistracy, or the more eminent of the parish, were engaged in what they called the defection, which was much more looked at than scandal given by bad lives."—*Burnet's Own Times*, vol. i. p. 100. He adds, "But where the greatest part was more sound, they gave the sacrament with a new and unusual solemnity. On the Wednesday before, they held a fast

day with prayers and sermons, for about eight or ten hours together. On the Saturday they had two or three preparation sermons; and on the Lord's day they had so very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in some places; and all ended with three or four sermons on Monday for thanksgiving. A great many ministers were brought together from several parts; and high pretenders would have gone forty or fifty miles to a noted communion."—*Ibid.*]

CANONGATE.

1564. Aug. 26.—The minister biand at thair assemble, ordainis thir personis for to serve at the Communioun so oft as it sal be ministerit, thai berand office ; for the dur, W^m. Quhit, Jo. Mordo, Jas. Gray, Jerom Hamiltoun, 2 in the morning, and 2 for ix houris. Item, for the breid, Andro Kelloche. Item, for the wine, Rob. Logon. It., for the basinis, Jo. Nycolson, Jo. Ros. It., for the pesis, Geo. Skedowy, Jo. Kirkwood, Gilb. Blake, And. Purwes. It., for the burdis setin up and covering, Andro Mentioun. It., the uthair 3 eldaris for the body of the kirk, 2 to the rymour, and to wait upon the burd endis.

1564 (5). Feb. 17.—Sum provisioun to be maid for the sustening of the Communioun that it m^t be ministerit thris in the yeir. Item, quhat to be usit to them that has been once at the Communioun, and refusis to cum again. Item, quhat is to be done to thame that makis promis willinglie to come to the Comm., and keeps nocht.

1564 (5). Feb. 25.—The Communion ministrate, and about ane thousand persons communicattit.

1565. July 14.—IX hunder persons or thairby serwit, and twa services done, ane in the morning, and the uthair at aucht houris.

1565. 15 Dec.—The quhilk day the kirk humlie requyris everilk bailyie, everilk diocone of craft, with uthair faythful men, that thai and everilk ane of them have ane torch agane the mornying service [of the Communion], the quhilk they promisit to do.

1566. Ap. 21.—The kirk ordaineth examination to begin afair the Comonion, ordanyng the minister publiclie to warn and exhort all communicants to cum and keep thair aun quarter, with thair households, for guid exampill given unto the waiker. . . . The kirk ordains the officer to warn both the ald kirk (session) and also the newe to be present the next Satterday for awisement taken how the Commonion sal be furnischet that thairby the common gud be not spendit in affairs of the kirk, knawand sa mony publict affairs needfull to be supportit.

1566. May 5.—The quhilk day the Commonion wes ministrat according to the order, viz., anis at four houris in the morning.

the uthair at nyne, and xi hundreth personis or thairby commonittit, bayth the saidis services done be the minister self.

1566. Aug. 4.—xij hunder personis communicat or thairby.

1566 (7).—The kirk ordainis all persons oppinlie to be warnit in the pulpit that are on detention to compeir on Thursday that nixt cumis, the ix of this instant, before certain of the kirk appointed to make *reconsiliation*. Jan. 9. The qlk day the brethren convenit for reconsiliation. Comperit, Jonas Mason, et contra, for the quhilk the kirk requires the saidis partes to cheis thame arbitrallis to decern in thair complante, &c., the qlk day Johne Millar, adulterixe, is ordainit to compeir the morne to the Gen. Assemble. The qlk day, Johne Smith biand callit and accusit for selander geven be him to the kirk, in molesting of Mongo Rid, the saide Johne biand present, answeris, I confis I have offendit the kirk, and am willing to satisfie, and can nocht come unto the tabill unto the tyme I be reconsilit, and in takin (token) I desir reconsiliatioun, and am content to gang to the said Mongo, and say, brother, I confes I have offendit you, and therfor I desir you to forgif me that we may leif togidder as godle brether, casting frome us all hatred, gif I knew the said Mongo wold except (accept) the same, and thairfor I desir sum of you to schaw the same to Mongo, the quhilk Johne Oswald promisit to do.

1566 (7). Jan. 11.—It is ordannit that the minister publict in the pulpet the Commonion to be celebratit the xix of this instant. The *exhortation* [generally called the *preparation*] on the Satter-day efternoon afoir.

Jan. 19. About xij hundreth communicattit.

1567. July 3.—xij hunder and half communicat or thairby. (From Aug. 20, 1564, to Aug. 16, 1567, the Communion seems to be celebrated 8 times.)

In the part of the book containing baptisms, there are many notices of persons who had not been at the table, and engaged to come. Here is one :—

1564. Marche 10.—Andro Cubbill, ane madin, callit Margaret, his witness, Robert Cowen. The said Robert becunis souertie for the said Andro, that he sall leir the Lordis prayer, the belief, and commandments, agane commonion, and cum unto it. (Several others occur nearly in the same terms.—*Canongate Session Records*.)

1573, 1574.—For ane daill to be ane table to the Com- munion, ...	6l. 8d.
Ane aikin trie to be formis, ...	16s.
Ane uther aikin trie to be feit to the new and auld furnes, ...	8d.
Ane double spar to the Communion buird, ...	2s. 6d.
Ane quarter hunder plenchoun nails, ...	9d.
T. Crawford for bearing the tymmer to wright in the kirk, ...	16d.
To the sawars for sawing the tymmer to the forms, ...	6s.
To Henry Mylne, wright, 3 days labour in pre- paring and making of the tables to the Com- munion, ...	12s. 8d.

(*Records Burgh Court of Canongate*.—In these Records are also entries of payments for the ordinary expenses of the ordinance, including the wine, candles to the Communion, purchasing and washing the “lynning claiths,” &c.)

1613-(14). Jan. 8.—The quhilk day mention was made of ane act maid be the session the 2d day of Feb. 1610, concerning ane general and publict meeting of the haill honest neighbo^{rs} within this congⁿ to assemble before the Communion for tryell and removing of all eylists and offences, that sould happen to fall out, and for exhortation of the haill neighbo^{rs} to mutual peace and love, qrb^y the celebration of the holy Communion might proceed the more religiouslie, to the glore of God, and comfort of the haill people, and the said sessioun, finding the samyn meeting at this first celebraⁿ of the haly Communion baith necess^r and expedient, hes thairfor thocht meit, and decernit, that upon Tysday the 19 of Januar instant, thair be a publict conventioun of the haill brethren and honest neighbours within this congregation, for the causes foirsaid, viz., quhatsoever offence or eyelist qlk may be an impediment to the religious celebration of the holy Communion, now approaching, may be with common consent and harmonie removit, the haill n^{lrs} stirrit up, and exhortit to Christiane and mutuall amitie, quherby this haly Communion may be the more Christianlie and devoutely celebrate, to the glore of God and comfort and contentment of the haill congregatioun.

The session appoints their brethren, Halbert Maxwell, &c., to concur with the pastors in agreeing the publict variances in the congregation, especially betwix the auld deacons and the magistrates, and appoints Tho^s. Ros to pas with the Reader to warn the fairsaid four deacons to compeir in the kirk the morne, at ten ho^{rs}, thair to meit with the pastors and the above written brethren, for the cases fairsaid.

1613. Jan. 15.—Orlains that publict intimation be maid the nixt Sabbath, out of pulpit, of the holy Communion to be celebrat the last Sab. of Jan^y inst., and the twa first Sabbaths of Februar, to be without morning service, and the preaching to begin at 8 hours, and siclyke intimation to be maid of ane generall meeting to be in the kirk the nixt Tysday, at twa ho^{rs}, conforme to the act maid this day aucht dayis, and the great bell to begin to ring at half ho^r to twa, and to ring till twa stryke.

(At this period, the Communion appears to have been celebrated in the Canongate twice in the year, and, on each occasion, for three successive Sabbaths. After 1618, and until 1638, the celebration seems to have taken place once a-year, on three, sometimes four, but for the last eight years only two Sabbaths in succession. From 1638 till 1662, the half-yearly Sacramental services are renewed, each extending over two Sabbaths. The same practice seems to continue for some years after the restoration of Episcopacy, but for a long period the only minutes are mere scrolls. In the period 1638-1662, the collections for the poor, on the occasion of the Communion, include "the Saturday preceding and the Monday thereafter," and some years "the *Tuesday* and Saturday preceding, and Monday thereafter.")

In 1703, there are the following entries:—"June 22. The session unanimously resolved that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper shall be celebrated the 2d Sabbath of July" (afterwards postponed to the 3d Sab.) "July 6. Fast: Intimation to be made from the pulpit ye next Lord's-day of the *Fast to be keeped here upon Thursday come eight days in the usual manner.*" On July 13, the order of the celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, among other things contains an appointment of *Collectors* for *Thursday*, for *Saturday*, for *Sabbath*, for *Monday*.—(*Canongate Sess. Records.*)

ST ANDREWS.

1572. May 7.—The Seat hes ordeined yat in tyme cuming nane sal present thair selves to ye communion w^{out} ticket, ressavit fra ye clerk of ye quarter q^r they dwel or minister, and quha y^t does the contrar sal mak public satisfaction, and upon their knees ask God and the congregation forgiveness.

(From the year 1584 to the year 1590, examiners are appointed before the communion to the four quarters of the burgh. In 1584, the examiners to the first quarter are Mr James Wilkie, rector, Mr Martine Geddes, Wm. Ferry, elders, and Wil. Watson, dakin, scribe yrto : 2d quarter, Mr James Martine, provost, Auld College, Mr Wm. Cok, Jas. Robertson, Dav. Guildland, scribe yrto ; 3d quarter, Mr Jhone Robertson, M. D. Russell, Alex. Carstairs, and C. Watson, scribe ; 4th quarter, Mr Henry Leitch, Wm. Lermouth, Alex. Wynchester, Thos. Wod, redar, scribe. All these years the principals of St Salvator's and St Leonard's College, and one of the professors of the New College, appear to have taken the same share of the parochial duty as the minister did).

1598. 21st July.—The preparaⁿ and order of ye fast and communion service^a to be as follows, viz. Mr Geo. Gladstones to preach ye morn afternoon for preparation, and sal intimat ye fast, and upon ye next Sabbath ye morning preaching to begin at five hours, and sic as hears q^t preaching sal then communicate only, and to that effect the doors to be locket at ye ending of ye psalm, and ye second sermon to begin at nine hours ; and Mr David Lindesay to teach in the College Kirk before noon, and afternoon at thrie hours.—(*Records of Kirk Session*).

1600. Feb. 21.—Anent ye questⁿ proponit, viz. Gif ye friends

^a [In 1574 a Commission was appointed by the General Assembly, to inquire into certain alleged irregularities in St Andrews, of which one was the neglect of an Act of a previous Assembly, for a special fast. From Mr R. Hamilton, the minister's, reply to this charge, it appears that in St Andrews, at that period, a fast was ordinarily observed in connection with the communion. "Im-

primis, concerning ye keiping of ye fast, albeit ye day preeeislie [was] not observit, and that in respect, &c. Yet it was observit and concludit, with ye ministrati^on of ye Supper of the Lord, according to ye order observit hilderto in our kirk." See Minutes of the Commission, engrossed in Kirk Session of Edin. Records, Feb. 24, 1574 (5).]

of umq^{ll} Jas. Smyt, refusing to schak hands w^t the murtherers, suld be admittit to the Lord's table? The Presb. answers, y^t gif thai profes reconciliaⁿ in yr hart to all men, and y^t thai bear malice to none, and yet refuse that ceremony of shaking of hands, it may not stay them to be admittit.—(*Presbytery Records*.)

1638. Oct. 21.—Quhilk day the holie communion was celebrate w^t great solemnitie in the old fashion setting, my old lady marquess of Hamilton, my lord Lindsay, and sundrie uthers barones, ladyes, and gentlemen, strangers, being pnt y^{at}. The bellis rang at thrie ho^{rs} to the morning service. The ministers thereof wer Mr George Hamiltoun to aid the preparatioun sermon, Mr And^w Auchinleck the mornyng, and Mr David Forret the sermone of thanksgiving, the magistrates and chief of the session attending the services, the brods, basouns, and elements.^a

The communion boords all being covered w^t the new damess boordclothis that Johne Lepar, provest, bro^t hame, q^{lk} he coft in Holland, and caused mak heir, q^of he receaved as a pairt of the pryce yrof, the fourtie punds that Janet Geddie, spous to Wm. Barclay in this citie, left in her latter will to that effect.

1642. May 24.—Tuesday, 5l. 6s. 26-7, Thursday and Friday, 9l. 1s. 28, Saturday, at the preparation sermon to the communion, 13l. 2s. Sondag next at the bords and basones, collectit be ye magistrates, being bot one service, and ye next day siclyke, 280l. But one service 7 burds and a half, the first bell rung at 6 hours in the morning, the magistrates attending the brods and bassenes for the poorer collection, and the next Sondag also but one service, but many ma buirdis this day nor the former. May

^a "As for our Directorie. . . . Our prayers and doctrine before the sacrament uses not to be directed to the use of the sacrament. They have after the blessing a short discourse, and two short graces over the elements, which are distribute and participate in silence, without exhortation, reading, or singing, and all is ended with a psalm without prayer. Mr Nye told us his private judgment, that in preaching he thinks the minister should be covered, and the people discovered; but in the sacrament, the minister should be discovered as a servant, and the guests all covered." —*Buillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 440.

31, Tuesday, 4l. 11s. June 2, Thursday, 5l. June 3, Friday, 4l. 11s. June 4, Saturday, at the preparation sermon, 5l. 11s. Sunday, at the old College Kirk, 36l. (Tuesday and Thursday being the days of the ordinary week-day services at that period.)

1643. May 23.—Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, at the preparation sermons, 29l. 4s. May 28, Sunday, the holie communion being celebrated, 308l. 6s. 8d. May 30. Tuesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, at the preparation sermons, 30l., 16s. (No Friday mentioned in either of the weeks in the communion of May 1645.)

1646. Tuesday, Oct. 27.—Thursday, one solemn fast (one of many fasts at that time), and Saturday, being the preparation day before the communion, 24l. 14s. Sunday, at the communion, 151l.

1653. May 8.—James Lintron, late provost, motioned that the ministers and session would think of the administration of the Lord's Supper here, *it being now towards three years since the last occasion of that kind* in this place. Referred to Thursday, and the ministers advertised all to be present. May 12.—The session, ministers, and elders, taking to their serious consideration ye motion anent administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in this place, finding the same to be a weighty matter, do appoint the minister to consider seriously yrof amongst themselves, and to advise w^t others y^t are in the like case with this city, and to make y^r report the 3d Sunday of June. June 30.—The ministers have not yet conferred anent the desire of giving the communion here, desired to do it and report. July 7.—The ministers having conferred, &c., and not being clear to give their report, are desired to confer again. July 14.—Report deferred till after the Gen^l Assembly.

1654. June 15.—The session, being very sensible of the great want of that comfortable ordinance of the Lord's Supper in this congregation *now for four years*, do seriously recommend to the ministers to consider how this may be remedied, and that ordinance administered so soon as can be done.

1656. July 27.—The holie communion intimate to be celebrate here the two next Sabbaths. July 31.—The session ordained that the whole tickets to the communicants here be written by the clerk, according to the order of the ministers. Aug. 3.—Mr R. Blair lectured Hos. xi. ; and Mr And. Honyman preached Matt.

xi. 28, this being the Saturday before the first communion Sabbath. Aug. 3.—Mr Rob. Blair lectured Hos. xi. 5, and preached Hos. xiii. 10, 11. The holy communion administered this Lord's day afternoon, Mr S. Rutherford preached Isa. liii. 1. Aug. 4 (Monday).—Mr James Wood preached Col. i. 20. Aug. 5 (Tuesday).—Mr And. Honyman preached Matt. xi. 28. Aug. 9, Saturday before communion, Mr S. Rutherford lectured Is. iv., and Mr R. Blair preached Jo. i. 11, 12. Aug. 10.—Mr And. Honyman lectured Jo. xv., and preached Cant. 2, 3, 4, 5. This day the holy communion was celebrated. Afternoon, Mr S. Rutherford preached Jo. i. 18, 19. Aug. 11 (Monday).—Mr Rob. Blair preached Heb. xiii. 20, 21. Aug. 12 (Tuesday).—Mr And. Honyman preached Matt. xi. 28, 29. The whole collection the two communion Sabbaths and these two weeks, £202, 17s. Scots.

1663. Ap. 28.—Collected at the communion, £83, 1s. 6d. (The last collection on the same occasion in 1661 had been £147, 6s. Two or three years before it had been above £200.)

1676. July 27.—Thursday and Saturday next, at the preparation sermon, collected, with the creill money, 8 lib. 14s. The Sabbath of the communion and Monday, collected 68 lib. 16s.

1677. July 10.—Thursday and Saturday, at preparation sermon, 11 lib. 3s. Sabbath of ye commu., 73 lib. Monday, 5 lib. 15s.—(*Records of Kirk Sess. St Andrews.*)

ANSTRUTHER-WESTER.

1588. Aug. 20.—Anent ye communion brede and wyne for bygoanis ye chalmerlin is to be soucht, and as for ye tyme to come, ye pryor is to be requirit to mak assignatioun of ye soun of ten pounds to be yeirlie lifted, &c.

1592. March 28.—It is tho^t gud y^t ye Supper of ye Lord be celebrat ye nixt Sabothe day in this ordor, a certain, sa mony as we may easely serve *befoir twell hours*, and ye rest to communicat ye nixt day that sall be fund meetest, befor ye peiple go to ye fishing.

1610. Aug. 15.—This Saboth, ye first Saboth y^t Mr Jo. Fairfull enterit to ye ministrie amang us. The s^d Mr Joⁿ w^t consent and be ye advise of ye elderis convenit, hes appointed and appointes Twysday nixt to begin ye visitaⁿ of ye haill paroch,

and uptaking of ye haill names of ye persouns of age and meit to communicate, and y^rafter w^t all diligence to proceed to examination for preparati^on to the communion.

1614. Oct. 11.—Collectit upone Sondag wes aucht dayis, qlk wes ye day of ye celebratioun of ye communion of ye blissit bodie and bluid of Jesus Chryst, be Andro Melvill and Andro Lundy, v. lib. v. s.; be Walter Borthwick, iij. lib. Collectit ye last Saboth be Florens Drummond, 58s. And debursit for communion wyne, viz. aucht pyntes, four pounds xvi. s., and for breid, xxiiij. s.

1615. April 4.—Collected ye last Sab., qlk wes ye 1st communion day, 6 lib. 12s. 11th April.—Collected ye last Sab., ye 2d communion day, 8 lib. 5s. 5d. Item, upon Setterday and Twysday, 34s. Given for communion wyne, viz. 9 pyntes, vi. lib., and for breid, xij. s.—(*Anstruther Session Book.*)

LOGIERAIT.

1660. June 10.—*Ane fast* to be kept the 21 of July (it should be June) for the reasons after mentioned:— . . . 5. For *humiliation preparation work to ye communion*, qlk by the Lord's grace we intend to go about betwixt this and Lambes. July 22.—This day was ordered all things to be done ye next day at ye celebration of the communion, as follows:—Ye gathering ye offerings at ye kirk styles, Don. M'Cay and Andro Howar at ye west styll, Tho. Reid and Wm. Red at ye east styll. Servants appointed for serving of ye tables, Gilbert Stewart to receive ye tickets, Andrew Tosh to carry ye bread. Don. M'Cay and Jo. Cumson for ye wine for ye one side of ye table, Dav. Orge and Tho. Constable for ye other syde. Pitnacrie, Estertyre, Tenendrie, and Fyndynate to stay at the door and see good order kept. July 29.—This day the communion celebrat, preaching being on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, Mr Colin and Mr Robert Campbells, helpers. Collection the three days 9 lib. 14s. 4d.—(*Logierait Sess. Book.*)

LASSWADE

1618. March 17.—Stentmasters decreet for payment of cups, basins, ewers, and cloths for administering the sacrament, conform

to Act of Parliament : ^a Dame Agnes Hay, Countess of Glencairn, and the Earl, her husband, for Preston yearly rent, 2500 merks, to pay 25l. ; Mr John Nicolson, Lasswade, yearly rent 300 mks, to pay 3l. ; Dame Susanna Foulter, for her lands of Hathorndean, rent 400 merks, to pay 4l. ; John Verner of Auchindoney, 300 merks, to pay 3l. ; Sir Wm. Sinclair of Roslin, 1600 merks, to pay 16l. ; Mr Adam King, Dryden, 200 mks, to pay 2l. ; Dame Jeane Hamilton, Lady Ross, and Sir Rt., her spouse, for the lands of Melvin, 1100 merks, to pay 11l. ; and for the lands of Pendreich, 1700 mks, to pay 17l. ; Mr John Nicolson, for the lands of Dryden and Nether and Over Leswade, 4000 mks, to pay 40l.

1641. Aug. 8. The qlk day comperit Susanna Ocheltrie, servitrix to Patrick Couslie, . . . Megget, spous to Thomas Clark, in Rosline, and Helen Denholme, spous to James Clerk, y^r, for not communicating at this last communion, confessit, and credit them never to omit the said occasion, and payet 10s. Aug. 22.—Two men in Roslin, for not communicating, were penitent, and payed everie ane of them 4s. 6d.—(*Session Records*).^β

^a [June 28, 1617. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 534].

^β ["The *Kirk* or *Session* buik of Laswaid bought in Anno Domini 1615," begins with "The Actes of the kirk of Laswaid. . . . presentlie renewed and insert in this great buik the 22 of Maij 1615," some of which may be here quoted as affording a general view of the discipline of the Church at that period. The 1st requires all to attend the kirk, or to be punished,—gentlemen to be damified in vjs. viiid. ; ye mens in iijjs. iiijd. ; servants, xxd. (2.) Sermon fra 11 Sep. until the 11 March, beginning at ½ hour to 10, and fra 11 March until 11 Sept, to begin at 9 hours. (3.) No children of ignorant parents to be baptised, except the father first lay ane poynd of 10s., and a month sal be granted to learn the Lord's prayer, belief, and 10 commandments, with some competent knowledge of the sacraments and catechism,—qlk he performing his poynd sal be returned, otherwise forfeited. (4.)

If any ignorant father contemne to crave baptism to his child for feir of paying the forsaid penaltie, because he will not learn,—or quhosoever convoys his child, sends, or suffers the same, to be baptised be ane abusoar of the sacraments, he sall not onlie double the soome containit in the former acts, but alsua mak open repent^{ce} of his stubbornness and contempt, and farder to be punishit at the discretion of the session, before he be receivit in the favour of the kirk, &c. (5.) That nane be admittit witness in children's baptism but sick as are in some gud messur weill instructit in the heads of Christian religion, and in whom is found no notorious offence. (6.) That nae child be baptised in the father's absence, except he be sik, or upon good occasione furth of the countrie. (7.) That nane be admittit to the holic communion of the Lord's table, unless first he byd tryall of the heads of Christian religione, and being tryit, nane be admittit except in some degree he be found

DUNFERMLINE.

1656. March 27.—Overtures.—1. The minister and elders going about the people for the communion, resolved—That those who were absent from the diets be admonished ; the third time to be suspendit fra the communion. 2. The minister, with the elders, shall try the knowledge of every one that comes, according to the Act of the Assembly, 1648, Aug. 10, Sess. 38. . . . 4. Common questions to be proposed to every one whose knowledge the minister doubts of, and that they insist on the questions which are preparations for the sacrament. 5. Concerning scandalous persons, some way to be taken for keeping them back from the communion. July 8.—The minister gave in the rolls of absents, and ignorants at catechising. July 15.—It is resolved that the twa days of the communion shall be on the 10th and 17th days of Aug^t. next, *and it is thought fit that there be a day of fast before the communion*, for the sins of the people in this parochie. Mr Rob. Kay undertakes to provide the elements. It is referred to Jo. Thomson to provide the tokens. July 27.—Intimation of the communion to be celebrated this day 15 days (10th and 17th Aug.) Advertisement was given to families to divide themselves equally, the ane half the first day, the other half the second day, and *that there will be sermon in another part without the kirk* for those that communicate not. Aug. 7.—The fast solemnlie kept. Aug. 9.—Advertisements: the

learned thairin, and be tryet alsua to be frie of publyke and notorious offence, and sclander, and so furth. (8.) Na oistlar or tapstar sal sell eall or beir, or any uyr (other) drink, in time of divine service, under the pain of 10s, *toties quoties*. (9.) Na persons to be married, unless indifferentlie weil instructed in the chief points of Christian religion. (10.) Na harlots, vagabonds, Egyptians, &c., to be receat or entertained in the parish, under pain of 40s. for the receater, and instant banishment of the person receat." There are twenty-two articles altogether. The rest relate to

fornication (public satisfaction, and payment of 40s. penaltie), blasphemy, swearing, "baning," "common flyters, and skalds" (public place of repentance, at least two diets). The clerk is appointed to read a portion of scripture every Sabbath day. The session to be kept ilk aucht days," &c. Similar digests of their rules are to be found in the early records of other sessions. A very interesting document of this kind occupies eight pages at the beginning of the Session Register of Aberdeen, under the date 1562.—(Ed.)]

diet of meeting the morne is to be about 8 hours. The kirk to be left to those who communicate, the others to attend without. Aug. 10.—The first Sab. of the communion. Aug. 17.—The 2d Sab. of the communion. Dec. 16.—Persons at variance who did absent themselves from the communion, 11 in the town and 18 in the landward.—(*Dunfermline Kirk-Session Records.*)

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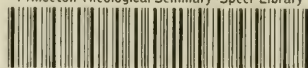
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